This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

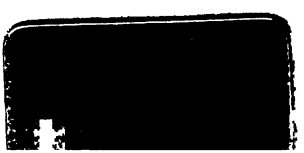
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

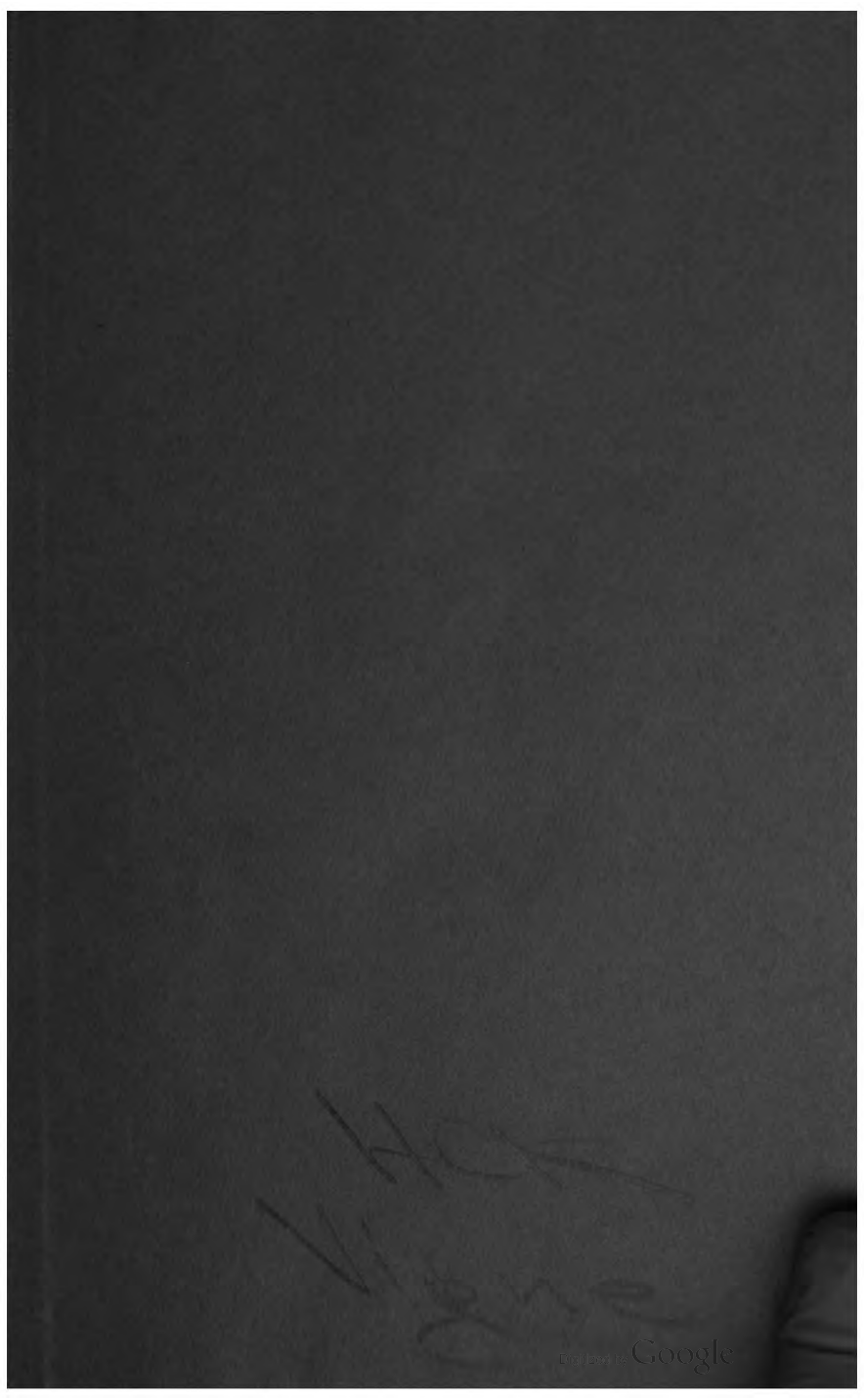
Travels in Mexico, South America, etc. etc

Godfrey Thomas Vigne

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google


Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

TRAVELS IN

MEXICO, SOUTH AMERICA,

ETC. ETC.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Hanhart Imp

CHIEF OF THE CHIPPEWAYS.

Digitized by Google

TRAVELS IN

MEXICO, SOUTH AMERICA,

ETC. ETC.

BY G. T. VIGNE, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF "A PERSONAL VISIT TO GREENLAND AND ICELAND" AND "TRAVELS IN KASHMIR, LADAK, ETC."

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:

WM. H. ALLEN & CO., 13, WATERLOO PLACE, S.W.

1863.

Digitized by Google

LONDON:
COX AND WYMAN, PRINTERS, GREAT QUEEN STREET,
LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS.

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

Digitized by Google

PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

THESE volumes are not the production of a professional author or a commissioned tourist. Mr. Vigne travelled for his own amusement and instruction, and in the first instance recorded his observations and experiences with no intention of turning them to any literary or pecuniary account. It is possible, therefore, that the composition may not always defy rigid criticism, as it was less anxiously polished, less elaborately worked up for effect, than other records of foreign travel expressly prepared for the book-market. But what these volumes may want in artistical finish or rhetorical embellishment is compensated by remarkable freshness of feeling, an unaffected style, and a conscientious truthfulness.

The Publishers regret to state that they had hardly placed the manuscript in the printer's hands when the Author died. Some slight in-

Digitized by Google

accuracies or imperfections, therefore, may be discovered in his book, which, if death had not arrested his hand, he might have corrected or remedied in a careful revision of the text in its passage through the press. As it is, the book must be regarded as a posthumous publication, and the critical reader's indulgence is solicited on account of the inevitable disadvantages under which it now comes before him.

13, Waterloo Place, S.W.
September, 1863.

Digitized by Google

TRAVELS

IN SOUTH AMERICA, MEXICO,

&c.

It was, I well remember, one of the murkiest of November evenings in the year 1851 that the then-gigantic *Oronoko* passed through the Needles, slackened her speed for a moment to allow the pilot to descend to his boat, and continued her course toward the far West, plunging heavily as she encountered the deep-water swell rolling in from the Channel. The attention of every one on deck was soon afterwards directed to the approach of one of her homeward-bound sisters, scarcely discernible, excepting by her lights. For the moment the aggregate roar of winds, waves, steam, canvas, cordage, and command seemed to be forgotten, and, in a silence that would make itself be felt, we distinctly heard the words "All right!" given in a clear, ringing voice from her main deck as she came up abreast of us, and then rapidly disappeared in the darkness. We descended to our berths, after having been put in possession, by means of

Digitized by Google

those two words, of information affecting the interests of millions and the temporary hopes and fears, public, private, commercial, speculative, and political, of a hemisphere; but sea-sickness was none the more merciful on that account. A week of wretched weather succeeded until after we had sighted the Azores, and began to breathe the transition atmosphere of the mid-Atlantic. Ladies whom we had never seen now stole quietly into the saloon; gentlemen leaped desperately from their berths and suddenly appeared, Banquo-like (excepting that they were shaved and clean shirted), at the breakfast-table; books and cards were produced, and whist, écarté, and monte were played; writing-cases, note-books, and drawing-portfolios were unfastened; music and dancing commenced upon deck; punning and practical jokes especially proved the absence of ailment; nicknames were given and retained; a bearded "medico" from South America was soon known as Abd-el-Kader, and orders were given to follow a Mr. Legree with a swab, by way of hinting to him that his habits were not agreeable to society on board an English steamer. In the evening the German passengers drank freely and sang uproarious songs in praise of Vaterland. So passed the time as we glided over the gently heaving and silvered surface of the tropical ocean, rippled only by the rise and dipping of the flying-fish, the

Digitized by Google

dolphin, the king-fish, or the gulls in pursuit of them. The dreamy glare of the afternoon was succeeded by a brilliant sunset, and the steamer moved on through the phosphorescence she continually awakened. The sultry and sleepless night sent most of us on deck in time to see a gorgeous sunrise, peculiar on account of the rich copper colouring of the still massive clouds through which the rays had to force their way to the horizon.

High land in the island of St. Thomas has been visible for some hours. The steamer nears and rushes round a projecting headland; another immediately comes in view with a fort bearing the Danish flag; between the headlands is a deep bay, at the upper end of which appears the red-roofed town extending over three eminences; and on another is a ruin said to be that of a stronghold of the old buccaneers. In front are numerous ships at anchor, and several steamers conspicuous by their black hulls. The whole scene is backed by a mountain-slope of limestone about 1,200 feet in height, traversed by paths, and cultivated in different parts; but covered to the water's edge by tufts of long grass, low bushes, and aloe plants. The health officers are seen approaching, and in ten minutes more the *Oronoko* is riding quietly at anchor, surrounded by sharks and negro boatmen, and boarded by fruitsellers, washerwomen, &c. One of the boatmen said he heard a shark

Digitized by Google

groan because he could not get at him. A quarantine ground was at that time a great desideratum at St. Thomas, as a ship in quarantine was obliged to carry her passengers away with her. There is plenty of ground available for the purpose, but at first all supplies would have to be brought from the town—a reason which in these climates is not without its validity. Negotiations with the Danish Government have not, I believe, been attended with success, and no quarantine ground has been established. Antigua has been talked of as a better packet station. Puerto Rico*

* Called Borinquien by the natives, and discovered by Columbus in his second voyage (24th of June, 1493), is about 96 miles long by 34 broad, with an area of about 330 square leagues, about seventy towns and villages, and a population of between 500,000 and 600,000, having a greater number to the square league (1,827) than Cuba (254) or Jamaica (about 1,000), 9 per cent. of which are slaves. In its coast line of about 270 miles there are seven harbours and fifty-one rivers. Sugar, coffee, and tobacco are its chief productions. Its forests contain an immense variety of woods, and every kind of tropical vegetable can be produced by cultivation. In the country the inhabitants are indolent, honest, and hospitable; those of the cities, as usual, evince less of the two latter qualities. I have taken these general statistics from "Memoria de la Estadistica de la Isla de Puerto Rico, 1861," and also from a detailed description published by Cotton & Co., of New York, and I find there also that the island was invaded by a British force under Drake in 1595, by the Dutch in 1615, in 1625 by buccaneers, in 1678 by a British squadron, in 1702 ditto, in 1797 by troops under Abercrombie, and in 1825 by privateers who were defeated. The thermometer ranges between 52° and 95° in the plains. The

Digitized by Google

is about 60 miles from St. Thomas,—the steamer proceeding thence to Jamaica affording us a distant view of the Sierra de Luquillo, nearly 4,000 feet above the sea and occasionally capped with snow, whilst a low verdant slope, covered with forest-palms, plantain, cocoa-nut trees, and numerous gardens, extended to the very shore. In the extreme distance lay the raised promontory on which the capital is situated. Long white lines of fortification built by Philip II. became more and more distinct as we neared them. The Spaniards ceased their cannon practice at a target on an island rock; and a gentleman who went on shore in the mail-boat informed me that he had seen three splendid-looking Spanish regiments on the parade-ground.

A similar glimpse of St. Domingo was obtained whilst the boat touched at Jacmel, remaining under steam on the deep swell that breaks at the foot of the bold, rocky, and wooded cliffs on the western side of the bay. The black population came out to stare at us, and the negresses seemed to have tied their bandanas with unusual care in honour of our

attacks of yellow fever are comparatively mild, but cholera raged there in 1856–7. Cuba, in 1852, produced 6,340,354 quintals of sugar, about six times as much as Puerto Rico, and yields a revenue to Spain, after all deductions, of about £3,000,000. That of Puerto Rico is not publicly known, but it is, of course, much less.

Digitized by Google

arrival; whilst the crinoline of the ladies was the subject of especial interest and remark as we strolled through the dusty and dirty streets, occasionally plucking fruit from a tamarind-tree. From the elevated ground on which the plaza is situated, we could see something of the adjoining country, a mere speck of the scenery, which is said to be finer in St. Domingo than in any of the West-Indian islands. The road to Port-au-Prince, about 60 miles distant, passed over a ridge to the left of the town, and the more inland landscape appeared to be filled up by abruptly-sided hills and valleys, profusely covered with wild forest.

My first visit to the Havana was also that of a steamboat passenger. We landed by a brilliant moonlight, and I suddenly found myself in the Plaza, and those who in the evening have walked through its crowded and flowered parterres and have sat under the shade of its central palms can never forget the singular and surprising beauty of the scene, and the peculiar effect produced by the glitter of the silver ornaments, so profusely distributed over the *volantes* and their harness. Their jewelled and fair unbonneted occupants, who come nightly to see and be seen, sit listening to the music of a fine military band and the compliments of their admirers, and if not employed upon ices from the adjoining *cafés* are incessantly using their fans as none but

Digitized by Google

Spanish women can use them, and glancing occasionally at the spectators, looking down upon them from the balconies of the well-lighted saloons of the Governor's palace.

The bare and rugged mountains of Zempoala, north of Vera Cruz, are the first land visible on approaching it from the sea. We arrived in the since notorious *Trent*. The fine snow-capped peak of Orizava, an almost extinct volcano, is then opened, rising magnificently into the blue sky, to the height of 17,850 feet—more than four times the height of Ben Nevis—and is visible at once from its summit to its base (unless the latter be covered with mist, when a north wind may be expected) for a distance of twenty leagues or more. Humboldt says it had its strongest eruptions between 1545 and 1566. I do not remember to have seen any smoke from the crater. The small volcano of Tuxtla, whose last eruption was in 1793, lies on the coast to the south-east, and in front the horizon is bounded by the ridge which connects Orizava with the Cofre de Perote, on the right, at the edge of the Tierra Fria or elevated plateau on which the city of Mexico is built.

On a nearer approach to land, the *débouchure* of the river of Antigua, a few miles to the northward, is pointed out as the third and last station where Cortez attempted to found a permanent city, but whence he again removed it to resume

Digitized by Google

its present and original position. On the south is seen the Island of Sacrificios and the quarantine anchorage.* The low, flat fortress of San Juan de Ulloa is then neared by an indirect course, and on the opposite side of its unsatisfactory roadstead are seen the neat-looking white, red, and yellow flat-roofed houses of the city, with the steeples, domes, and *miradors* peering conspicuously above them. A breakwater extending over the 1,062 yards intervening between the city and the fort would be a very great improvement. The Madrepore rock, of which the whole or parts of the fort are mainly constructed, is close at hand and in great abundance, and the American engineers in the last war were of opinion that such a work was perfectly feasible. Of this celebrated fort, it may, I believe, be said with truth, that supposing Mexico to be again left to her self-government (whatever may be the result of events now passing), unless Fort San Juan be put into such a condition as to be able to beat off an attack from the sea, and unless the country become united so that the city and the fort could act together in case of any military

* The best port on the Gulf of Mexico is that of Anton Lizardo, a large roadstead secured by reefs, and affording safe anchorage during the northers to a hostile fleet. The French anchored there and at Sacrificios, still nearer to Vera Cruz, in the year 1838; and the fleet of the United States lay there in 1847.

Digitized by Google

emergency, the sooner it is razed to the ground the better, as under all circumstances it can only serve, as it ever has served, as a refuge for discontented political parties, from whence they are enabled to dictate terms to the city. The ministers of the Government in Mexico, however honourable, are never necessarily masters of the ports, which have usually been in possession of one or another of the opposing generals in this distracted country.*

The city of Vera Cruz has fallen off in population since it was in the possession of the Spanish Government, and has suffered greatly from the increasing political disturbances. The privilege of forming a railroad (which seems to be the panacea for a poor or unsettled country) from Vera Cruz to Mexico had then been granted to one of the richest of the native gentlemen, and its completion would in all probability give a great impulse to the commerce of the place, although I do not believe that its results will benefit the country generally in the same proportion. The natives of Vera Cruz are far ahead of the generality of their countrymen in the interior: they are industrious and clever, while the better classes are well educated. Being simply emancipated from priestly influence, they are unjustly accused

* "Apuntes Historicos de la Heroica Ciudad de Vera Cruz," by Tejada (published in Mexico), may be consulted for details.

Digitized by Google

of being indifferent and very sceptical in religious matters, whilst they are characterized by a liberality of opinion and an absence of jealousy of foreigners when contrasted with the deeply-rooted prejudices of the masses in Spanish America. It was not then as yet determined whether the rail should pass by Orizava or Jalapa: on the former the inequalities are fewer, although extending over a greater surface. In 1861 a company was formed, and a railway commenced from Mexico to Puebla, but discontinued when the Spanish troops landed. Vera Cruz would be but little affected by the occupation of any ports on the coasts of Central America for merely mercantile purposes, but she would suffer by the more attractive position of a future railway from the Gulf of Campeche on the Atlantic, to that of Tehuantepec on the Pacific (the harbours at each end being suitable for moderately-sized vessels), of which so much has been said but so little done, but which would be much preferred as a place of departure for California, the length of the proposed route across being 186 miles, of which 66 miles would be by a navigable river, to say nothing of a saving of many hundred miles of sea-voyage. The cost is estimated at £2,000,000.*

* The summit level is nearly 900 feet, by surveys made early in 1851, under the direction of Major G. Barnard, U.S. Engineers. The natives are few and friendly. The project was dropped on account of disputes about privileges between Mexico and the United States.

Digitized by Google

It is unnecessary for me to attempt a narrative of the events of the present war; but I have always believed that with a real union of parties, and not otherwise, the Mexicans might give even the French troops a considerable amount of trouble, and even offer them a very formidable resistance on account of the numerous fastnesses and defensible positions in the country they will have to traverse; and, in fact, it is probable that the lower orders will display an animosity almost equalling that shown to the Spaniards in the War of Independence. Some twenty-five years ago a traveller landing would have found horses ready for the purpose of enabling him to escape from the bad air of Vera Cruz by galloping at once up to the Tierra Templada. Great improvements have been since made, and he need not be afraid of passing a few days at one of the hotels.

About twelve miles from the city is the village of Medellin, on the Jamapa. A railroad was opened to it last year. It is a place of resort for the merchants and gentry, some of whom have their country-houses here, and by way of uniting the purposes of health and amusement may be seen playing "monte" as they sit immersed in the water, which is impregnated by contact with the roots of the sarsaparilla. Why should not sarsaparilla baths be introduced?

In spite of fever and political disturbances, so

Digitized by Google

frequent in this country, several families of African descent have come from Louisiana to settle in the Tierra Caliente, where they have bought lands which they are successfully cultivating. The whole zone of the Tierra Caliente is particularly favourable to the cultivation of cotton, tobacco, and all tropical productions; and the greater part of the vanilla in use in Europe is grown about forty miles to the north of Vera Cruz, where the plantations of Misantla and Papantla supply about three million pods annually, which chiefly find their way to Bordeaux. The French colonists at Jicaltepec in the same vicinity raise vanilla in considerable quantities. One thousand beans are worth 150 dollars at Vera Cruz.

After taking leave of our kind host, Mr. M., we started in the afternoon (going about nine miles by rail), and arrived at the hotel at Jalapa to breakfast in the forenoon of the morrow; a distance of about ninety miles, the last thirty of which are in the Tierra Templada, commencing with the Puente Nacional and the Cerro Gordo pass, where General Santa Anna unsuccessfully attempted to stop the American army of 8,000 men under General Scott. The vast forest-covered slopes that rise like buttresses against the plateau of the Tierra Templada are visible from the road on the ascending ridge, and the town of Jalapa is entered between coffee planta-

Digitized by Google

tions and hedges whitened by florepondios, or trumpet-flowers. The beauty of the landscape, particularly to the east, south, and west, as seen from the mirador or tower of the Convent of San Francisco, has not been exaggerated by travellers.

The clean and pretty town is placed on an eminence which seems to be overshadowed by the rocky head and firred sides of the Cofre de Perote, with Orizava in the distance towering over the intervening undulations, which can scarcely be excelled for beauty of arrangement; but with all that shape and shade and ornament which tropical trees, tree-ferns, fruits, and flowers can alone bestow upon rural scenery, the eye still detects the want of a broad lake or river, whose windings would not fail to add a much needed variety with reference to the mere view.

No one, however, can be disposed to find fault after leaving the Tierra Caliente for a climate where the average range of the thermometer is from 68° to 70° Fahrenheit only, and where the perfumed breeze is frequently reminding him that the large extent of gladed forest on the south-east of the town is partly composed of liquidamber-trees.

Jalapa boasts of two Alamedas; and in an open space near the barracks is an obelisk, with an inscription to the memory and patriotism of three Mexican officers who were captured by a

Digitized by Google

party of American cavalry, and shot by them for having broken their parole. The Mexicans at first so underrated their invaders that some of them, in their way to the coast, were talking of lassoing the American ships. The Americans, I was told, were well liked in the city, paying well for everything.

A paved road, made by the Spaniards, leads to the village of Coatepec, the show place of the vicinity. On the way, a large coffee plantation was pointed out to me as unable to command a purchaser, in consequence of the insecurity of property, although it was to be sold for much less than its real value. A fair was being held, and the streets were crowded with picturesquely-dressed peasants, and some of the numerous Indians had got up a procession, and howled and danced about, dressed or half-dressed, so as to resemble the Roman Catholic paintings of devils.

At a certain hour we all repaired to the cockpit, an indispensable attraction upon all occasions of public rejoicing. It was crowded by the principal visitors to the fair. The spurs of the birds were not less than from four to five inches in length, shaped like a scythe, with an exceedingly sharp point and edge, so that one of the poor animals was often killed outright. Matches were incessantly made, and quantities of gold changed hands; but before the sport began, and by way

Digitized by Google

of informing the ring that all was ready, the manager stepped into the centre, and surprised me by loudly and formally exclaiming, "Ave Maria purissima! Que vengan' los gallos!"—an invitation which was repeated just as loudly and formally by another manager who took the place of the first after a certain time had elapsed.

The beautiful and verdant little valley and village of Helotepec, a few miles distant on the right of the high road to Nerote, should by all means be visited. The Indian population, which Humboldt estimated at about two-thirds of the inhabitants, had since been on the increase, but is now again decreasing, so that at present there are about as many as when he was in the country. They cultivate their little patches of ground, and carry on their shoulders an incredible weight of produce, occasionally bringing small potatoes to Jalapa for sale. I was told that there were wild potatoes in the Tierra Templada; though Humboldt thinks they were not known until introduced by the Spaniards.

The Indians are a miserable race, in the lowest state of mental degradation—suspicious of sinister design, even when receiving a kindness or a charitable gift. Their ideas would still seem to be generally estranged from those of Europeans; and the indescribable look of

Digitized by Google

melancholy impressed upon their countenances is not always effaced by their indulgence in ardent spirits. Drunkenness is common: the wife is often a sufferer by it, and severely beaten; but it is a fact, that if an Indian does not beat his wife about once in six months, she thinks that she is neglected, and is no longer an object of affection and interest. There is a well-known story extant of some Englishman who, having gone to the assistance of a woman who was receiving castigation from her husband, was surprised to find that, so far from being grateful, she abused him for his interference. Superstition, of course, runs riot among them; and it is not uncommon for a man to put away a small portion of his earnings, in order that he may die possessed of a sum sufficient for the purchase of a friar's old left-off robe, which is to serve him as a winding-sheet.

Quitting the comfortable hotel at Jalapa, where my stay had been rendered agreeable by the great kindness and hospitality of Mr. K—— and his family, I visited the Quebrada, a very deep cleft on the skirts of Orizava, and would advise every traveller to do the same who has three or four days to spare. A letter of introduction enabled me to pass a comfortable night at a sugar-farm or hacienda, the name of which and that of my kind host I regret to have lost.

Thence I made for the village of Huatusco,

Digitized by Google

crossing streams, being ferried over the Rio Antigua at a place called La Junta, and thence passing through a succession of open savannahs, occasional cultivation and primæval forest spread over hills and deep valleys, abounding with tree-ferns, tropical fruits, and trees festooned with Granadillos and the Guaco creeper, whose merits as an antidote to the effects of a snake-bite are not without acknowledgment. A decoction of its root is sold by the chemists at Jalapa, and I have heard of its having been successfully used in canine distemper. Its taste is a strong bitter. In riding through the woods just after sunrise, I noticed dead tarantulas at intervals, caught as they were crossing the paths, and killed either by some one who had preceded me, or, as it seemed, by some bird or other animal, or perhaps by the ants that surrounded them. Walking in the Jalapa forest, our attention was attracted by a small dark-coloured ball rolling down a bare bank. It was a black hornet and a tarantula in mortal conflict. I thought the latter had seized the hornet, but it was just the reverse. The hornet had his adversary by the head, using his wings and frequently doubling himself up to sting him most perseveringly. I separated them with a stick. The hornet did not like the interruption, and flew away for only about a dozen yards. I disturbed him, and he flew again towards his prey and alighted in a

Digitized by Google

thicket near him, the tarantula in the meanwhile being doubled up and dead. On our returning afterwards by the same path, the hornet, who was not to be seen, had first, as usual, dragged his foe away.

The pathway nears and rises through the forest along the edge of the large ravine known as the Quebrada, its mural sides in some places being literally hung with a curtain of foliage and flowers through which the eye vainly endeavours to penetrate to the great depth below. It was in this vicinity that I first saw the large blue butterfly common in the hot regions of South America. From Huatusco, a considerable village through which the Orizava railway would pass, I rode to a point on a cross-country road, where I was told I should be amply repaid by the magnificence of the view. Orizava, comparatively bare, and not difficult, I believe, to ascend, with snow on its summits, occupied nearly the entire horizon to the south-west, and all the intervening space seemed to bear testimony to the effect of water in contact with internal heat, which found vent through the volcano, but not without producing a chaotic confusion of broken mountains and vast blue dreamy fissures and ravines now filled with the densest and most impenetrable vegetation, and said to be swarming with every description of wild animal known in the country.

I again passed through Coatepec in going to

Digitized by Google

the summit of the Cofre de Perote. A very long and tedious ascent by a winding forest-path is terminated by a cleared plateau, where I passed the night in a goatherd's hut, and continued along the ridge until we entered the region of fir-trees, which Humboldt says differ in no respect from those having a similar general appearance in Norway.

One or two Coyotls or Mexican jackals cantered off among the rocks, but I remember to have seen no other wild animal in this silent and elevated region excepting a rabbit or two. I passed a night of intense cold at the foot of a lofty and rugged precipice, immediately under the summit of the mountain, in company with some muleteers who use this path as a thoroughfare, and who kindled their cooking fires and slept by them while their animals were secured in small enclosures formed by walls of loose stone. Snow in dense masses was visible in the deep crevices and hollows by which the rock was furrowed. The Naucampa, or, as it is called by the Spaniards, the Cofre, or box-shaped mass of igneous rock which forms the summit (13,380 feet), and gives its name to the mountain, is about 40 feet in height, based on a carpet of verdure, with a tint resembling that of the richly coloured "potentillas" in the Himalaya, and which slopes from it on every side, excepting where it rises immediately over the precipice,

Digitized by Google

on the edge of which a tide of massive clouds was incessantly rolling. I could only look down in vain for its base from the huge slabs of tabular and slaty rock overhanging its depths, and could see nothing in any way indicative of a crater. The view towards Jalapa was thus impeded, and the haze prevented my discerning the Atlantic and Vera Cruz as clearly as both are sometimes seen. Orizava rises with a most majestic sweep from the lowest lands of the Tierra Caliente, and in the direction of Mexico is extended the great level of the Tierra Fria. The eye, following the road for an immense distance from Perote, a fort, with but few houses, on the edge of the descent, over the apparently barren plain, with low mountains rising in different directions more or less isolated, attempts to discover the Cathedral of Puebla de los Angelos, which the French are now besieging. They were misled by false information, and their first attempt, on the 5th May, 1862, was unsuccessful. The view then rests upon the celebrated hill known as Malinche, so named because Montezuma always addressed Cortez by that name, or because it was the name, a corruption of "Mary," given to his mistress by Cortez,—the ridge on the summit representing to the imagination the outline of the front and feet of a robed human body on its back. It thence ranges over the site of Tlascala (the place of bread), and is finally

Digitized by Google

arrested by the two great snowy peaks of Istakshuatl (the white woman, 15,690 feet high), and Popocatapetl (the smoking mountain, 17,880 feet), now occasionally ascended as far as the lower part of the crater for sulphur or for sake of the prospect. These majestic and isolated mountains may be fancied to be ambassadors from the Andes.* The army of Cortez passed between them, and from the summit looked down upon the plain of the capital and its celebrated lakes. The diligence left Perote at a very early hour, passing over the pumice-stone-covered plain; the stars round the Southern Cross were just visible above the horizon; the air very cold. I heard that cholera had never visited Perote. Assuming it to be a miasma gradually ascending from the hot coast, it might be conjectured that its upward course would be continued for a while after it had risen to a level with Perote, at the edge of the most elevated part of the plateau, and that it had again descended and reached Puebla and the capital. An English gentleman with his family and valuable luggage thought it advisable to have a few mounted guards, but besides this precaution we sat with loaded guns pointed out of the windows. It was said to be as nearly certain that we should be attacked if not prepared, as that we should

* Two of the peaks in the mountains N.E. of Kashmir are of about the same elevation.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

not be molested if the robbers knew that we were well armed. If the driver see robbers waiting, he gives three raps on the roof of the diligence, upon which it is understood that the armed passengers are to jump out and fire at the very first person they see. The roads were safe while the Americans were there, but the robbers recommenced on the very day they left the capital. However, we travelled on securely over the plain, leaving Tlascala, so celebrated in the invasion of Cortez, on our right. After passing the night at Puebla, the great pyramid of Cholula, once the Mecca of Mexico, was seen on the left. On our return I heard that three robbers had been shot by the "tobacco guard," and then hanged near the post-house at Rio Frio, the day before. Wishing for a sketch, I started on foot before daylight the next morning, and, after a walk of six miles, at a turn of the road I saw two of them hanging in the forest by the roadside, and one on the ground. I began sketching, when a man, who had been evidently cutting him down, probably a relation, and had been disturbed by me, suddenly made his appearance, and after a low bow made off as fast as he could, and I had just finished my sketch when I heard the diligence approaching.

A gradual descent through the fir forest brings the traveller to the commencement of the straight road on the plain which leads to the

Digitized by Google

city, whose cathedral towers have been long visible. The road passes along the edge of the lake, and is thronged with mules, vehicles, horsemen, and Indians. On the left hand were flocks of wild fowl, occasionally thinned (in great numbers) by means of a machine in which are a number of gun-barrels so arranged that the lowest tier is fired at them on the water; the second and third are discharged at them in the air. On the right, at the edge of the lake, is the small rocky hill containing hot springs known as the Baños. The city seems to be extended to the right, along the causeway of Tlacopan, celebrated in the wars of the Conquest, and ended by the Church of Guadaloupe, the scene of one of the most successful of Romish miracles. Close to it is a ship's mast, with three extended sails, all cut in stone, and placed there in performance of a vow. The church, conspicuous on the eminence, contains the celebrated image of the Virgin. A few miles from the city to the north-west is another shrine on a hill, visible from a long distance. It is extremely rich, and the image, to which there is a romantic story attached, was brought into the city in a procession during an epidemic, and by collecting a crowd in the streets was the means of increasing the number of its victims.

I visited, as a matter of course, with the assistance and company of English friends, some

Digitized by Google

of the remarkable places in the immediate vicinity of this beautiful and interesting city,—the fort of Chepultepec, with its sepulchral-looking grove of Astek cypresses, the tree of the "Noche Triste," the supposed place of Alvarado's leap, and the hospitable roofs of the suburb of Tacubaya. We made a picnic excursion to the Convent of El Desierto, in the hill range behind the city; and upon two or three grand occasions I was present at the bull-ring, near to which, at the head of the Paseo, is the fine equestrian statue of Charles IV. Rattlesnakes are very numerous among the volcanic surface rocks of the Pedrigal, near the ground on which the battle of Cherubusco took place, in the American war. I looked about to see one, but without success. An English sportsman in Mexico, Mr. H——, having been bitten by a rattlesnake, immediately bared his leg, and, to the horror of his native attendant, fired successively two charges of powder emptied upon the place. His determination was rewarded by immunity from any bad result, excepting the external wound made by the explosion.

A gentleman who had seen the mammoth cave of Kentucky and that at Adelsburg, near Trieste, told me he thought that of Cacahuamalpa, about three days' journey from the city, and only discovered of late years, was inferior only in size to the former.

Digitized by Google

The banks of the clear, quick stream flowing from the Upper Lake of Chalco are fringed with willows and nursery-grounds, and melon beds in green half-submerged and rectangular divisions, or "chinampas," reminded me of the floating gardens of Kashmir. Good snipe shooting is occasionally to be had in the adjoining ditches and marshy grounds, which should be trodden with caution when not well known, an attendant on a sportsman, but a few years previously, having suddenly and entirely disappeared.

The waters of the lake are gradually diminishing, but the great cutting through the mountains known as the Desague of Huehuetoca, which prevents the valley being inundated, is minutely described by Humboldt, whose account of New Spain is still at least as good as any other, although not dressed in the elegant but too highly epitheted language of Prescott. Their joint accounts, with that of Mr. Ward and others, render it almost superfluous for any other traveller to attempt to describe in detail such well-trodden ground.

A visit to the Real del Monte mountains well repays the trouble of the day's journey in the diligence. The silver ore brought to the surface is not equal to that of the great shaft at Guanaxuato, ten yards in diameter, but was most carefully and economically worked by English

Digitized by Google

machinery, aided by English skill and capital, under the very able superintendence of Mr. B——. Old shafts had been reopened, and everything seemed in a thriving condition.

It is impossible to walk a mile in this part of Mexico without observing the arrow-heads, blades, and other articles of obsidian on the ground. The mines from which the old natives extracted their volcanic glass are within a few miles of the works. They are merely rough pits in the ground of a few feet only in varying depth, scattered over a square quarter of a mile in the forest, and are now disused. Not far from them are the "Piedras Cargadas," huge granite aiguilles, with apparently loose rocks balanced on their summits, adding singularity to an otherwise extensive and beautiful view in the direction of the city. An Englishman well acquainted with the mining localities told me that he would sooner have all the silver in one of the hills he pointed out to the left in the commencement of the ascent from the plain to the mines, than the whole wealth in the Bank of England. I returned to the city after having seen the hacienda and the curious basaltic columnar formation at Reglar, and having passed on thence to the head of a vast ravine or Barranca of San Bartolo, whence, from what is known as the Victoria rock, there is a cele-

Digitized by Google

Walton lith.

Hannart imp.

PIEDRAS CARGADAS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

brated view over the country in the direction of Tampico, in which the purest Astek language is said to be spoken. In the vicinity I also visited the newly discovered opal-mine, and saw a small stone of extraordinary beauty which had just been found.

A voyage of about fifteen miles across the lake brought me to Tescuco. Its waters, according to Humboldt, contain muriate and carbonate of soda, which communicate a slight taste to them. I was surprised to find that it presented the same depth for the whole distance in that direction. About the middle of the voyage one of the party quietly dropped over the side, the depth being only about up to his waist, for the purpose of assisting our progress during a calm. In the centre of the lake a large wooden cross rises high over the waters. A magnificent view of its whole surface, the surrounding mountains, and the city, about twenty-five miles distant, is obtained from the summit of the hill of Tezcotzinco, on which are the remains of a circular stone bath (said to have been Montezuma's), about a foot deep and five feet in diameter, with a small surrounding and smoothed space cut out of the solid rock. Near it are some other ruins, said to be those of the palace of the greatest of the Tescucan kings, whose single crime, according to Prescott, was one nearly paralleled by

Digitized by Google

the story of David and Uriah, and whose name, "Nezralhalcoyotl," signifies, very unromantically, "the hungry jackal."

A day is also well occupied in visiting the Teocallis or edifices known as the pyramids of San Juan, and among other remains the solid, rectangular, sarcophagus-like stone known as La Mesa, the former are supposed to have been dedicated to the sun and moon, and supposed to have been built by the Toltecs. They have been well described by Humboldt and other travellers. I have afterwards again mentioned them. I saw my guide pretend to pick up a little grotesque idol, and he then turned and offered it to me; he had no doubt made it himself, and I gave him a trifle for it as a curiosity. The road thither from Tescuco is over the dry open country by the side of the lake, whose aspect is occasionally varied by the farm buildings, haciendas, small villages, with hedges of cactus resembling the front of an organ, gardens, plantations, huge maguey or aloe-trees, with one in blossom at intervals. A single aloe-plant is worth from three to five dollars, and yields every month, for three or four in succession, about 10 gallons of "pulque," a refreshing, effervescent, slightly intoxicating liquor, whose flavour might, I think, be imitated by a diluted mixture of gooseberry wine and ginger-beer.

Digitized by Google

It has been well remarked that in a new country the French run up a theatre at once, the English make a road, and the Spaniards erect a church; and certainly the white steeples, built, as is every church in the country, in what is known as the late Italian style (which commenced with St. Peter's), and usually of very elegant design, are to be seen all over the country wherever there is a village or the ruins of one, and contribute, as one positive good result of the Spanish occupation, to beautify and give a peculiar character to the scenery in the nooks and corners of the tableland of Mexico. I know nothing excepting the cedars of Lebanon at all comparable to the great grove of Tescuco, planted originally, as if by Celtic hands, for Celtic rites, on the open flat edge of the lake. Numerous gigantic Astek cypresses, hoary with age and festooned like their brethren of Chepultepec with the pendant moss, known as the Barba de Velha, or old man's beard, are growing on a flat plain in the shape of a parallelogram some hundreds of yards long and wide, open at the eastern end, and divided by a cross row so as to form an enclosed square at the western extremity—an area probably used as a place for games, races, &c., or the grave discussions of a national assembly under the presidency of its chiefs.

Irrespectively of events now passing in the country, I thought it nearly impossible for any

Digitized by Google

one excepting a resident or some one necessarily interested in the affairs of Mexico to become well acquainted with the changes and causes of those changes that were constantly at work there. There have been about fifty political changes since the emancipation of the Mexicans from Spanish rule. Regencies, dictatorships, only one empire—that of Iturbide, who was shot—provisional governments, central and federal republics, have had their transitory authority in the country. Then there were, and most likely are, three parties, differing in opinion and influence,—the conservative, including the Church party; the "moderados," a party desirous of conciliating both; the ultra absolutists and the ultra liberals, the "puros," "sans culottes," who were for destroying the influence of the clergy by transferring their property to the national treasury; and besides these there were then the followers of General Santa Anna, who had most of the army in his favour, and had abolished between thirty and forty feast-days. Arista, the then president, was averse to a large standing army, which consisted of 9,000 men. The Church was doing all in its power to prevent liberty of worship. An attempt to introduce it had been made a short time previously, but had been unsuccessful. There was no place for English service allowed, and the Mexicans were horrified by its being performed

Digitized by Google

and attended by Americans in the president's saloon. They are generally a very bigoted people. I remember entering a large and fashionable shoemaker's shop when the Host was passing. The priest was sitting in a carriage with a box containing the elements on his lap, attended by a band and a crowd. The master and all his apprentices fell upon their knees instantly. I merely bowed until he had passed, and I then asked who it was—meaning the priest. "Dios!" was the startling reply I received from the infuriated master, who looked as if he could have stabbed me with the awl he held in his hand for not having knelt, although my attitude was anything but disrespectful.

It was in one of these Spanish-American countries that I was attacked by a priest with the usual cool "Usted Cristiano, senor?"—"Are you a Christian, sir?" After replying that I thought we Protestants had, strictly speaking, rather a better title to the name than he had, on account of our acknowledging but one Mediator, he began to quote the Church, &c., and I was obliged to refer him to the human media through which all evidence, excepting purely divine evidence (whatever might be thought of it after investigation), was received and transmitted, without any concomitant miraculous attestation. As this had the effect of withdrawing from under his feet the

Digitized by Google

basis of infallibility, he had nothing left for it but to say civilly that I did not understand the subject, and that I was arguing in a circle, suiting the action to the word by turning himself round. Another older priest then came up, who begged him not to argue with me, and refused, when I took leave, to shake hands with me, which my less bigoted opponent did very good-humouredly.

Of the Mexican state revenue, amounting to about fourteen millions of dollars, about eight millions only, as I was several times informed, found their way into the Treasury. The rents of the Church amounted to ten millions of dollars, at the very lowest calculation, and this wealth, added to the power of excommunication, has always given her a vastly preponderating influence. This great revenue arose from tithes, first-fruits, the rents of an enormous landed property bequeathed by individuals to the Church and particular convents, parochial charges for baptisms, marriages, burials, masses, &c., the lowest price for which was a dollar; and in addition to benefices and the wealth of religious corporations, the Church had a couple of lotteries monthly. In fact Mexico, with the exception of Vera Cruz, has made but little progress in anything since her independence; and I am sure there is not much, if any, hope for her under purely Mexican rule, excepting, perhaps, under

Digitized by Google

a monarchy, which I believe the thinking part of the nation would not be averse to, as being the only refuge from incessant trouble and consequent insecurity, and which would give Mexico the chance of becoming what she so easily might be—a powerful and, from her position, a most important nation. The ladies, who at public balls are fond of displaying their magnificent and numerous jewels, would soon be reconciled to the attractive gaieties of a court. At the same time I understood that whatever might be wished by some, the natives would never appeal to the United States or any other country for the settlement of their merely domestic dissensions; and that in case of any dispute between Spain and the United States for the possession of Cuba, the sympathies of the Mexicans would be with the Spaniards. A curious proposition was once brought forward in the Chambers by the Absolutists for uprooting all the plantain-trees in the country by way of making the people work, the quantity of sustenance afforded by them acting, as it no doubt does, as an encouragement to idleness.

During my stay in Mexico there was a political change once a month. Mr. Doyle, our minister, told me that he thought I should see a "pronunciamento" before I went away; and there would have been one had not the European residents, amounting to upwards of a thousand,

Digitized by Google

armed and enrolled themselves so as to be ready in case of a general rising. Some of the French displayed their National Guard uniform on the occasion, which, I understood, did not please the Mexicans; and when the danger was over, the Mexican minister said that the safety of the city was mainly owing to the determined attitude assumed by the resident foreigners. But Arista, the then president, made his escape. A short time previously I had seen him and all the ministers, &c., in attendance at a gorgeous *fête* in the Church of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. He was deposed when Santa Anna was recalled, who again was upset by a combination known as that of Ayutla (a place on the Pacific coast), and Alvarez, its originator, was succeeded by Comonfort, a Liberal, who decreed the sale of the Church property. He was consequently turned out by a plan known as that of Tacubaya, and was succeeded by Zuloaga. In fact, there is no end to these "pronunciamentos."*

In 1857† Señor Juarez, now so prominent a character, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, became the lawful and Liberal president of the republic: within a month he was expelled

* In 1859 the Republic of Mexico had been in existence thirty-eight years, during which time there had been fifty-six changes of government.—Bollaert's "South America," p. 225.

† *Vide* the United States' president's message, December 3rd, 1860.

Digitized by Google

by a rebellion in the army, and the supreme power was assigned to General Zuloaga, supported by the wealth of the Church, who was again soon compelled to give place to General Miramon, who supported the clergy and the army in their claims to immunity from civil jurisdiction, and was therefore called by them the American Napoleon. The guerillas Marquez and Galvez are also supported by the Church. I do not remember to have seen Comonfort, Almonte (who wrote a catechism of geography), Doblado, and others whose names were then, comparatively speaking, unknown to fame. The newspapers must of course be consulted for the details of passing events. The Mexicans, with all their faults, are a patriotic people; and respect for women in the country is, generally, at least as chivalrous as in any other. When an English lady had been insulted by some drunken soldiers, the colonel threatened to flog the whole regiment if they were not given up. The "puellæ risus ab angulo" and the fan, are all powerful, whether during a church ceremony or at the bull-fight. The Mexicans were not "aguerris" during the American war in 1847; and the battle of Cerro Gordo (where Colonel Harney, of San Juan celebrity, distinguished himself, and was personally complimented on the field by General Scott) was finally lost by the Americans fighting their way up a ravine which the foe had

Digitized by Google

thought impassable. General Scott approached the city with 8,000 effective troops. The battle near San Angel, south of the city, was also won by a surprise through a ravine. If bent upon resistance, the Mexicans would now be more cautious. The Americans landed at Vera Cruz on the 9th of March, and entered Mexico on the 14th of September, after several general engagements, numerous skirmishes, and a great deal of fighting at Chepultepec and the capital, which that fortress commands. Seventy-five miles of plain intervene between Perote and Puebla, which is about ninety miles from the city, and which the Americans entered without resistance. It is not likely that the Mexicans will leave it, as in the American war, without having defended it by formidable breastworks, &c. It ascends for several miles through a pine forest covering the rocky slopes which form a pass at Rio Frio. Thence the descent begins through the continued forest; but when once a large army has forced its way into the valley, it could surround the city, if sufficiently numerous. The Americans went round the lake of Chalco, and approached from the south over the rough but open plain. We shall see whether the French will not try to approach also from the north, or carry the batteries which will be erected on the direct road to the city, or perhaps by approaching by each of these three routes. But they have not yet

Digitized by Google

taken Puebla, and have a road to the coast to keep open besides; and I venture an opinion that, to keep permanent hostile possession of the country generally, and to garrison the towns between the capital and the Atlantic coast, &c., would occupy an army of not much less than 30,000 men.

From St. Thomas's, I again, subsequently, took the steamer *Thames* to Jamaica, whose outlines become more and more beautiful and imposing as the island is approached; and the mere aspect of the Blue Mountains with the clouds on them is refreshing to any one breathing the sultry air of the ocean. Upon closely rounding the flat point at Port Royal, the harbour is at once entered, and Kingston is seen, seven miles distant, near the upper end of it, with ships and small craft constantly on the move across the intervening space; whilst the steamer is making her way through the deep water, with Her Majesty's men-of-war at anchor on the left, and her starboard-bow almost within pistol-shot of the barracks and other buildings. On the low hills on the opposite side, about three miles distant, are the forts, the quarantine ground, and the tomb of M. Galdy, who was swallowed up by the earthquake of December 22nd, 1736, and having been again ejected into the sea, saved himself by swimming.

Digitized by Google

The broad slope which descends from the foot of the amphitheatre of mountains to the water's edge is covered with vegetation, such as none but a tropical meridian can boast. Gentlemen's houses are scattered over it, and the eye is carried upwards from ridge to ridge, and from one tufted speck to another, until it rests upon the white lines of the Newcastle barracks, about fifteen miles distant; with St. Catherine's Peak rising behind them.

A peculiar seal *(Kalocephalus)* is found upon the Pedro shoals, and a sea-devil (a species of shark*) is occasionally killed after an exciting chase into the open ocean. Specimens may be seen in the British Museum.

An aged negro, who was always addressed by the name of "Old Russia," had lately died at Port Royal. Upon investigation it was ascertained that when Nelson with the *Hinchinbrooke* (June, 1779) was in command of the batteries at Port Royal, he had taken an interest in a little negro child, had stood sponsor for him, had given him his own name, and that "Old Russia" was only a negro modification of "Horatio."

The greater part of the town of Kingston consists of English-looking low brick houses, with trottoirs under a covered way in front of

* Cephaloptera olphersii.

Digitized by Google

them, raised above the worn and dusty streets at right angles to each other. The wooden floors of the best rooms are polished with the leaves of the plant known as the John Crow bush. A few excellent shops, conspicuous among many whose dinginess of appearance betokens the decay of custom, are in close propinquity to the Admiralty and steamboat wharfs. The market is well stocked with curious fish: turtle is sold at the same price as beef; and mountain mullet, land-crabs, ringtailed or ramier pigeons, Ripley pines, and "No. 11" mangoes (so called from the order of their importation), are sometimes there to enlarge the catalogue of luxuries.

The Museum is well worth a visit, and I was fortunate in going there in the company of the Hon. R. Hill, than whom no one was better acquainted with the natural history of the "Land of Springs," uniting the information of a lover of science with an intimate knowledge of its political interests. The collection, containing specimens of every natural and artificial production of the island, is enriched by a selection of minerals from New Zealand. I saw there also a curious old iron frame containing human bones, found near Spanish Town after a heavy rain had washed away the earth that covered it.

The Government House, built of brick, is con-

Digitized by Google

spicuous by its size and flag among the gardens and larger dwellings on the upper part of the town. In the principal church is a tablet informing us that "Admiral Benbow of the White, a true pattern of English courage, lost his life, much lamented, in defence of his Queene and countrie," after his victory on November 4th, 1702.

To the more modern names known in connection with Jamaica, such as that of Smollett (who kept a chemist's shop in Kingston) and "Monk" Lewis, it may be remarked that Bradshaw, son of the Speaker of the Rump Parliament, is known to have died there, as did also Lambert, Cromwell's secretary, Waite, and Scott, who desired no better epitaph than one recording he had had a hand in the death of the king. Blagrove and Harrison have still their representatives in the island. Many of the prisoners taken at Sedgemoor were sent here and sold as slaves after their condemnation by Jeffries at "the Bloody Assizes;" and the "sic erat olim" of the Littlejohns, with the archer's arm drawing the forest bow, as a crest, is evidence of descent from the hero of Sherwood.

The ascending streets open upon the parade and racecourse, where the inhabitants of Kingston assemble late in the afternoon to hear the band play; and thence diverge roads and bridle-paths in all directions, to the Newcastle barracks

Digitized by Google

(4,000 feet above the level of the sea, with an average temperature of 65°, Faht., night and day) and a vast number of gentlemen's seats, than which none are more beautifully situated than the plantation of Dr. H——, near St. Catherine's Peak, producing as fine coffee as any in the island; and the estate at Flamstead, the property and residence of the Rev. C. Fyfe, which, excepting perhaps the bishop's residence, may be said to combine the richest, the most panoramic, and interesting view in this singularly beautiful island, from a height about equal to that of Ben Lomond. The Blue Mountain Peak has been decided by Mr. Arnaboldi of Kingston, and others, to attain an elevation—previously supposed to be much greater—of 6,739 feet. I visited it from Abbey Green, the residence and coffee plantation of H. C——, Esq., whose hospitality is generally in request from his living at the foot of the last ascent, within about three and a half miles from the summit. Tree-ferns were frequent beside the bridle-path, which continues to wind upwards through the forest to a gap in the ridge known as the Portland Gap, where a small tree is climbed to get a better view; but soon afterwards it is necessary to dismount and proceed on foot, often by a sort of staircase, to the small open space fringed with trees and shrubs, which is, in fact, the summit, and contains a very small hut and a quantity of

Digitized by Google

long grass, really dangerous to traverse on account of the number of broken bottles. Half the island is visible from this its highest point: to the south is the opposite ridge, on which is conspicuous the hospitable residence of Captain Kent, R.N.,* whilst the remaining landscape is made up of hill and cliff, valley, stream, plain and plateau, and coffee plantations. The distant fastnesses on the descent by what is known as "the Falls" road, afforded shelter to the celebrated "Three-fingered Jack," who was at last killed by a maroon. The slopes to the northward of the ridge are covered with dense primeval forest, from which there is difficulty in removing timber, and the silence is interrupted only by the murmur of a large waterfall below, the scream of a flock of parrots, or the note of the bird known as the "solitaire." The thermometer stood at 70°, Faht., in the shade; a small spring was flowing from the rock near the summit, inviting the tourist to drink, and specu-

* This officer commanded the *Saucy Jack* when she ran the blockade of Buenos Ayres by the Brazilian squadron, and anchored under the port on the 21st of June, 1828; having run from the Downs, a distance of 7,500 miles, in forty-seven days. She was a brigantine (brig rigged forward and schooner aft), mounting ten six pounders, and was the famed Baltimore-built privateer which, during the war from June, 1812, to December, 1814, remained uncaptured by the British cruisers, but was afterwards condemned by the Admiralty Court as having been engaged in the slave trade.

Digitized by Google

late on the far whereabouts of the locality from whence it had found its level; and, as a proof of the mildness of the climate, the open spaces on the sides of the peak were in some places covered with the yellow blossoms of the dandelion. The rock itself is dark-coloured, coarse in texture, and, like, I believe, the whole or most of the West Indian mountains, of volcanic origin. Wild cats and two species of native rabbits are found in these solitudes, and I noticed the workings of the wild hog by the path-side, on the ascent, which I accomplished long before my rather sulky negro guide. In a few minutes after his arrival he had a fire kindled and a piece of meat broiling for himself, and afterwards asked me to give him something for having sat still while I sketched him. One curious fact connected with animal life on the peak is that the sea-bird known as the burrowing petrel flies up from the beach to its highest forests, lives in the hollow way it forms for itself in the densely massed dead leaves on the ground, or in a nest formed in the hollow root of a tree, and descends again to the seashore in quest of sustenance. I do not know how the young birds contrive to live, whether they are led down to the shore by their parents, or whether they leave the peak at all before they can fly. Alligators inhabit the muddy banks of the lowland rivers; snakes are neither numerous nor dangerous;

Digitized by Google

centipedes are not so common as in the other West Indian Islands. A small dark-coloured spider, with a red spot on the back, inflicts a troublesome bite. The comparatively small tarantula, with its wonderful trap-door nest, is the largest known species. And, in fact, the inhabitants of Jamaica enjoy a comparative freedom from the annoyance of noxious reptiles and insects, of which the stingless bee is an amiable and interesting instance. Guinea-fowl that have become wild are heard and shot in the woods; the ortyx or Virginian quail, plovers, snipes, and wild-fowl afford employment (not always of the healthiest description) to the sportsman in the lowlands. A few deer, the breed having been originally imported, are still, it is said, to be seen occasionally. A tree is set on fire purposely, and the ring-tailed pigeons, so much prized for the table, attracted by the smoke, alight upon the tree in order to escape from the insects that annoy them, and are then easily shot from below, falling heavily on account of their being very fat. Mountain mullet, sought for its size and the delicious flavour of its roe, afford sport by rising readily to a fly; but an idle and enfranchised black population is no respecter of seasons or game regulations, and both these delicacies are scarcer than formerly. The land-crab is also held in great esteem: myriads of these animals migrate from the seashore to the

Digitized by Google

mountains and back again, and travellers who have crossed their path say that they have ridden for miles before they got quite clear of them, after having unavoidably destroyed numbers of the young ones. I thought the flavour of the land-crab somewhat resembled that of salted salmon roe. Whilst on the subject of edibles, the akee* and hocro,† vegetable and very nourishing soups, should not be forgotten: the seeds of the latter are said to have been first brought from Africa in the hand of a slave as a memento of his country. Amongst the attractions of a bachelor's residence in the island the claims of the mestizas are generally allowed to be of no mean order, and occupy a leading position on the list. The smallest proportion of European blood is sufficient to induce its possessor to look down upon the pure negro, who retorts with allusions to an equality of maternity. Marriages are rarely or never contracted between the negroes and half-castes, the latter usually preferring to become housekeepers and mistresses of rich Europeans to marrying among those of their own class—a union which is considered degrading. Some of the half-castes and Sambo women (parented by a mestizo and a negress) would be fit models for a sculptor; but with some of them robustness of form contrasts unfa-

* Blighea akee. † Hibiscus esculentus.

Digitized by Google

vourably with the more delicately chiselled symmetry of the Hindu coolie women, who are distinguishable in the bandanaed crowd by their long black hair and the bangles on their wrists and ankles.

The cabbage-palm, logwood, ebony, and lignum vitæ give variety to the foliage of the woods, and amongst other tropical trees, such as the cocoa and the cotton-tree, may be observed the cashau or algerobilla,* which grows in great abundance between Kingston and Spanish Town. It supplies both places with firewood, and its wood has been used to make sleepers for the railway which is now being carried on from Spanish Town to Old Harbour in the parish of St. Catherine. Numerous single cashau-trees are observable in the open fields, purposely left there that they may assist vegetation by filtering the sun's rays through their delicate foliage. Mango-trees are very common: they seem to have become wild, the first having been presented by Lord Rodney, whose fleet had captured a French ship bound for St. Domingo with seeds from the Island of Bourbon.† The island mahogany is also very fine: I never saw a more beautiful specimen of

* The algeroba is the locust-tree or carobe of Spain.

† The mango in Jamaica generally bears fruit in one part of the tree only, the rest remaining dormant, but bearing fruit the next year, or perhaps within an interval of a year or two. Possibly the tree may not be yet sufficiently acclimated, or the

Digitized by Google

the wood than the dining-table at Government House, which, thanks to the kindness and hospitality of General Bell, the then acting governor, I had the honour and ample opportunity of admiring.

The plaza or square of Spanish Town (San Juan de la Vega), containing the Government House, the courts of justice, &c., is neat and handsome when contrasted with the *has-been* appearance of other parts of the town. The fine statue of Rodney, placed there in gratitude for his victory of 1782, is a conspicuous object: at one side near it are two great guns similar to those I had seen at Hondu, bearing the inscription "Ultima ratio regum." The statue of Lord Metcalfe was about to occupy a position opposite to that of Rodney. Being of gigantic proportions, the head and upper part of the figure rose through the first floor of its temporary abode, and reminded me of the fabled spectre of Otranto.

A friend drove me over to the Falmouth races, by which means I was enabled to see the interior of the island by crossing the surrounding ranges. A succession of beautiful views commences with the Bog or Boca Walk along the sides of the Spanish Town River, frowned over by lofty and

soil may not be so well suited to it as the decomposed basalt of Mazagon, near Bombay. The same peculiarity may sometimes be observed in the large cotton-tree in Jamaica.

Digitized by Google

wooded cliffs, overshadowed in some places by clumps of bamboos rising to a height of fifty or sixty feet, and is continued in one unbroken chain throughout the whole distance, agreeably divided for us into three days' work by the hospitalities of Cedar Valley and St. Anne's Bay. The only deficiency in the beauty of the scenery is the absence of lakes, but no doubt there are many places where some of the very numerous streams might be dammed up so as to form sheets of water without causing malaria. The red soldier-crabs near the shore rose up into the most ludicrous attitudes when approached by a dog, seemingly determined to show fight. The large voluted shells are sent from the beach of Jamaica and other of the Cane Isles to Italy, as material for mock cameo-work.* Specimens may

* Shell Cameos.—*Strombus Gigas.*—The shells used are those of the Flesh-eating univalve (*Gasteropoda ptenobranchiata zoophaga*), which are peculiar for being all formed of three layers of calcareous matters. The kinds now employed are, the bull's mouth (*Cassis rufum*), which has a red inner coat, or what is called a sardonyx ground; the black helmet (*Cassis Madagascariensis*), which has a blackish inner coat or *onyx* ground; the horned helmet (*Cassis cornutum*), with a yellow ground; the queen conch (*Strombus Gigas*), with a pink ground. The first two are the best shells for cameos. The bull's mouth are obtained from the Isle of Bourbon, to which place they are brought from Madagascar and Ceylon. The black helmets are *not* found in Madagascar, but are brought from Jamaica, Nassau, and New Providence.—Transactions of the Society of Arts, Sess. 1846-7.

Digitized by Google

be seen ready cut in the British Museum. On the north side of the island I first saw pimento (allspice) trees with their laurel-like leaves. When the fruit is gathered (then much resembling a green pea in appearance) it is necessary that part of the branch should be also broken off with it, or the tree would be materially injured. Wild barberries are common; the leaves of the ipecacuanha are bruised to dress fly-sores in cattle; and a tea (with a little rum added) made from the leaves of the guaco plant—the same which is used to cure the effect of a snake-bite—is given with good effect in colic.

The Cove of Columbus, a pretty little inlet, and Porta Maria, as being the first place at which the illustrious Genoese landed, are localities of interest. As I rode by the cocoa-nut trees near the shore I learned that rats climb to their very tops and live there. The prevalent winds which split the plantain leaves and warp the mango-tree give the cocoa-nut tree a permanent inclination towards the winds—a result arising from the rebound of the stems after having been bent by their force. I was told of a cocoa-nut tree with seven branches, each with a separate head.

Near St. Anne's Bay I visited one of the finest waterfalls in the island, and passed the estate of Seville, where are still to be seen the cathedral walls of the old Spanish town of Sevilla Nueva, founded in 1509; and in the same neigh-

Digitized by Google

bourhood are some caves by the roadside, explored and described by Sir Henry de la Beche. Inland from Falmouth are the Trelawney Mountains, and Maroon Town, a military station.*

The natives were said to have been extirpated before the English took possession of the island, and, in fact, fifty years after the arrival of the Spaniards; but at the mouth of the Black River, the first naval station of the Spaniards, is a tribe having the long black hair, or rather the mane, of the Indians. They are supposed to be the descendants of Indian women and Spanish fathers, and are called "piratees;" pira being the native name for a fish—a word from which the Spanish word *pirague*, a fishing-boat, is also derived. They live separately in their own villages, and subsist by curing fish and breeding horses, goats, &c. Some skulls of aborigines have been found at St. Elizabeth, having been artificially flattened, as at Titicaca and other parts of South America.

* The Maroons (Cimarones, wild people), I need scarcely remark, were the slaves of the Spanish planters who left the island when we took possession in the time of Cromwell, and remained in a state of insurrection, which was only entirely suppressed after a lapse of fifty years. They then continued at peace under treaty until the year 1790, when they again broke into a rebellion, which lasted several months, and was not finally subdued until they heard that the slave-hunters and their bloodhounds (which were, however, never used) had arrived from Cuba.

Digitized by Google

I thought it not fair to judge exclusively of the state of the island by the appearance of the people at Falmouth races, because of course everybody seemed happy and contented for the time. The racing was good and well managed by the stewards, with John D——, Esq., at the head of them, much respected as the father of the Turf and the owner of the best brood mares in the island. To say nothing of several gentlemen's carriages and numerous vehicles and the fair occupants of the Grand Stand, the scene was enlivened by crowds of gaily-dressed negresses, seemingly in high good humour, some in straw bonnets with gaudy ribbons, but most of them wearing the bandana on the head in every possible variety of shape. Various meanings are often recognizable in the folds of their headdress. An admirer reads encouragement or receives a repulse; love, hatred, jealousy, insult to a rival, are indicated by some particular mode of adjustment; and one particular tie, with the corners sticking out like horns, was understood by the initiated to signify on the part of the wearer, "Come what may, I don't care a d——!" Some of the negro sayings are not without point. Of a niggardly person they would remark that he was "Covege (covetous) as a star-apple," an obstinate fruit that does not drop until it is not only ripe, but rotten and useless. "Quatty (quartilia, a very small coin) bring troubles;

Digitized by Google

hundred pound won't take 'em off. Sweet word no fill belly. Every day pitcher go to the well; one day bottom come out. If nigger hate you, he give you basket to carry water!" that is, is always trying to annoy you; which is the case with Hindustani servants also.

A slaver had been taken and emptied into the quarantine buildings in the harbour. Captain R. Pearse, of H.B.M.'s brig *Arab*, having been informed that a suspicious-looking schooner was standing on and off a particular spot on the coast of Cuba, and evidently watching an opportunity of landing her cargo, left a boat there, with orders to the men to conceal themselves while the *Arab* designedly quitted the vicinity. It was found that the officer (Lieutenant Stubbs) in command of the boat's crew had done his work right well. The slaver had attempted to land her living freight, and was captured by the boat. The captain of the slaver, who was taken, and his crew, some of whom contrived to escape, left the vessel to her fate, having first purposely (so it was said) set her head towards a reef, where all on board would most probably have perished, sooner than the negroes should fall into the hands of the English. A slave, who had been made to steer during the voyage, contrived to prevent this catastrophe, and by the time the *Arab* returned, according to arrangement, the lieutenant was off Falmouth with his prize.

Digitized by Google

It was interesting to watch the expression with which these so lately emancipated human beings regarded their numerous visitors. The women, old and young, one or two of whom had evidently been more cared for than the rest, remained in a group together, whispering and smiling, and regarding their new garments with complacency. The men seemed thoughtful and observant; the boys, with the exception of two or three, who were fearfully emaciated and ill, although evidently recovering, were chattering, playing, chasing each other, and quarrelling, or bartering, with vehement gestures, a remnant of their rice for some small shell-fish they had picked up on the beach. I thought their demeanour appeared to be the effect rather of personal liberty, cleanliness, and good living upon the animal spirits, than the result of gratitude or reflection. They looked, if I may use such an expression, "as if they were used to it"—as if there were nothing extraordinary in their having been made slaves, nor in their having been liberated from a hellish imprisonment for weeks, in an area of a few yards square, and only 3 feet 4 inches (I measured the height) between the decks, a little more lateral space accruing from time to time from the death of some of their companions, of whom many had perished during the voyage.

Arrangements are made by which captured

Digitized by Google

negroes are all apprenticed to different planters, who are anxious to procure them, as they work much harder than the free native negroes.

I need scarcely remark that the story of Jamaica rests much upon the question whether the master has to ask the servant to live with him, or the servant has to ask the master for a place of service and a home. Unfortunately the demand for service must be made by the master, the poorer class of negroes, who are occasionally in want, not being in sufficient numbers to insure competition. The paucity of labour, not as yet sufficiently remedied by the importation of coolies, is of course followed by a demand for increased wages, so that the difficulties to be met by the planters are altogether placed in strong relief by the fact that India and the Mauritius can raise sugar at a much cheaper rate than Jamaica, on account of the plentiful supply of labour. The temporary prosperity of Jamaica has been, of course, considerably increased by a deficiency of slave-raised crops in Cuba and the Southern States; but the produce of her beautiful mountains is carried to the coast at a greater expense than that incurred in a flat country like Demerara, where every estate has the advantage of irrigation and water-carriage; and both Demerara and the Island of Trinidad are rapidly progressing under the irrigation system, the former more especially,

Digitized by Google

having lately received the assistance of 11,000 Portuguese from Madeira. It being "an ill wind that blows no one good," the negroes in Jamaica are now comparatively gentlemen of leisure, many of them never labouring for others, excepting when in want of a few dollars. They retire to their huts and the shade of their bananas by the roadside, often as mere squatters on the estate they once regularly worked upon five days a week for their masters, and cultivating their own piece of land as well; and they may generally be seen sitting at their own doors, and looking at their own around them. There are, of course, exceptions. Better specimens of the race, naturally less indolent, who had bought their land with money they had saved, or rented it at about £1 an acre annually, and having amassed a little property, think it worth while to work for more, and obtain regular employment. Many of this class are good and respectable men, but with a love of importance and a certain amount of self-esteem. If one of these negroes be the owner of a pony, he may be generally seen riding him to church, in his best blue coat with brass buttons, whilst his wife, in her gaudiest attire, is as certainly seen walking behind him or by his side. As a mass, however, I believe they are generally considered to be civil and well-behaved, although there are opinions as to negro merits varying to opposite

Digitized by Google

extremes. They are well acquainted with their own independence, and show it (as the free negroes will sometimes endeavour to annoy a Southerner in New York), by not allowing a gentleman's carriage as much room as they might do, without any forfeiture of their birthright. "I am a free man, sir," was the only answer or reason we received from a surly old negro, to whom we were obliged to shout, to make more room for a gig in a mountain road, and who was decidedly on his wrong side, and probably forgetting that we were free also. The events so well related in Captain Mayne Reade's tale of "The Maroon" were the results of a state of society which now no longer exists. At present there are about 450,000 inhabitants, about one-third of whom are white or mestizos; of the remaining negroes, about one-fifth are free-holders—*i. e.* about one-eighth of the whole population. I hear that in a few years they will perhaps be able to carry the local elections in their own favour.

The laws against Obeah are very severe, but are not unnecessarily so, as the practice is still continued. A, having a quarrel against B, pays the Obeah-man to get B evil-eyed. The injury thus effected is generally, as far as I could learn, purely mental; but the result is that B, believing in Obeah, is so convinced that A has the power of doing him harm, that his

Digitized by Google

life is rendered miserable, and even death has been known to ensue from the health being thus gradually undermined by anxiety. The Obeah-men practised also as doctors, and formerly were in the habit of employing poisons, one in particular, which affected visceral action for many years before death ensued. In San Domingo there is a prickly plant (jatrophus), known as guavu, whose contact is said to be fatal. The negroes in Jamaica sometimes bury an empty wine-bottle with the neck above ground, to keep off trespassers, who fear some Obeah when they see it. At St. Anne's, an old barrack was being converted into a church, and a foundation-stone was being laid with Masonic honours, and on the corn and wine being poured out, a negro in the crowd was heard to exclaim, "If we poor niggers go for to do dat, we go for hang for Obeah!" and a remark of the same kind was lately made by a native upon a similar occasion, in the north-west of India, who said that if they did so, they would be accused of "Jadu," or necromancy.

I well remember, in one of the South American cities, that having requested a gentleman who was obligingly acting as my cicerone to introduce me to another remarkable for the liberality of his opinion, I was surprised by his saying, that although he knew him very well, yet he could not comply with my request,

Digitized by Google

because I was not a "Freemason." What right, thought I, has Freemasonry to deprive me of a social advantage in travelling? And I asked, as the "Saturday Review" does, "What is Freemasonry?" whilst "Punch" says his friends are Freemasons; and the Emperor of the French evidently thinks that its sheltering advantages may be misused in excess of general obligation. Altogether, as every man has a right to his opinion, the real craft seems to require an eliminating Nemesis in these days. Its large charities and undoubted benevolence within its pale would so far entitle it to be, as it is termed, a noble and divine institution; but, in common with other secret societies (I am not speaking of benefit clubs, &c.), it cannot but involve a pernicious surrender of independence; and there cannot be much of the "Christian is that Christian does" in combination with the thraldom of implicit obedience. "He that loveth father and mother, or brother or sister, more than me," is its much-honoured text, and in these days of espionage, it would be well if Freemasonry would prove to the uninitiated world, as it most probably can do, that, on account of its benevolent intentions, it has some right to dispense with another of equal authority and greater practical importance,—"Let your yea be yea, and your nay be nay; for whatsoever is more than this, cometh of evil."

Digitized by Google

A curious custom obtains among the negro servants in Jamaica, probably brought from Africa. When the lady of the house (whom they are bound to look upon as the perfection of character) is confined, they kindle a flame which is kept up for nine days, and no fire, not even for a cigar, is allowed to be taken from it.

The estate of the Queen of the Antilles having been higher than that of any other island, her fall has been proportionably greater: she lost more ground, and requires more time to recover herself. She was in the most confident condition of prosperity, consequent upon a certainty of command of labour, a secure market, and a calculable profit upon her staple productions, sugar, coffee, and pimento. The effects of absenteeism, which was constantly draining the island of its capital, "were then as a dream, but have long been a pernicious reality," and are not likely readily to become less so, as few proprietors, unless obliged to do so, now come out to make Jamaica a permanent residence; although such are the beauty and attractions of the island, that I wonder it is not more frequently visited by tourists. It would attract more travellers were a strong and permanent government organized in Mexico. No machinery, not even a plough, was in use before emancipation: now, with the paucity of available labour, there is no place where it would be of

Digitized by Google

more use; and what there is, is often in combination with artificial assistance, given by means of new and enormous water-wheels, for the purpose of saving the employment of labourers.*

The result of the failure of so many estates, averaging about £2,000 each in value, was the necessary withdrawal of more than half a million of capital in the form of wages from the petty retailers of the towns, which became, in appearance, almost hopelessly impoverished. The crisis, however, has long since passed; and although enterprise on a large scale is wanting,

* Certainly misfortunes did not come alone to Jamaica; slavery ceased, as every one knows, in 1834, and apprenticeship, excepting under certain regulations, in 1838. The Sugar Duties Act gave the death blow to the existing state of interests, and in 1840 the price of sugar was about double what it had fallen to in 1848. In 1850, "pour comble de malheur," the island was visited by cholera, whose ravages carried off about one-fifteenth of the whole population. In 1838 there were some 600 sugar estates; in 1856 300 of these had been thrown out of cultivation. A transition state followed upon the expiration of apprenticeship; wages promised were sometimes of necessity not paid for weeks (which did not give encouragement to volunteer labourers); and, in short, "we might fill hundreds of pages with the painful and unavailing struggles of employers to escape, by hook or by crook, the dreadful necessity of treating with respect, or alluring with wages, those whom not long before they could order to be tied up and flogged."—From "Edinburgh Review," April, 1859; which also contains statistics of the condition of the trade of the island.

Digitized by Google

the population has begun to exert itself, and search has been made for every available source of profit. "Cotton," says Arniboldi, rather sanguinely (as far back as 1852), "has largely increased in cultivation. Untiring perseverance continues to mark the operations in the copper mines; soap and candles are being made, a steam bread and biscuit manufactory has been established, and where the sugar-cane is still cultivated the best modern improvements in machinery have been adopted, and both in the boiling-house and the distillery more scientific methods are being employed. Cocoa-nut fibre rope is largely manufactured; doormats are made of plantain bark." Soon after I was there a neglected sugar estate was again taken into cultivation with a festival befitting the return of the Prodigal Son. This example, I fear, has not been much followed—on the contrary, estates are rather being divided and sold to the negroes, who are establishing rude sugar-mills and small coffee plantations, with handmills to grind the coffee.

It occurred to me that some original and pretty ornaments, such as bracelets, might be made from rings sawed out of the stem of the tree-fern by uniting the "horses' teeth" (as the hard black substance within is termed) irregularly by means of silver or gold chain or wire. The softer pith of some that I saw cut not having been cleared away at first, it became so hard as

Digitized by Google

to render it impossible to separate it without splitting, although it had been essayed by one of the best workers in Irish bog oak. I think it might be turned to account by separating the pith when freshly cut, or by turning a ring of it in its natural state without separation, and using silver as the clasp; and it might thus become an article of elegance and profit.

The experiment of the cultivation of chinchona or bark from the plants and seeds collected by Mr. Markham for introduction in India has also been tried in Jamaica (and is now being tried on the Alpine Punjab) with success—I do not know in what part—under the superintendence of Mr. Wilson, although an English bark-hunter in South America informed me that an Indian once said to him, "We shall not find any bark here; the trees cannot see the snow," thereby of course indicating the climate necessary to its growth on a very considerable elevation on the slopes and plateaus of the Andes.

England has discharged part of her debt to Jamaica in the appointment of Government surveyors to examine and report upon the mineral resources of the island, and there are sanguine hopes entertained of an increase of mining prosperity consequent upon the investigation.

A railway has been opened to Spanish Town, and will, no doubt, find its way further on

Digitized by Google

towards the copper mines in Clarendon, one of which I visited in company with a friend. As far as I could judge, there was then a steady yield of good ore (sulphuret and carbonate of copper) from a lode of about nine feet in width which has been traced across a valley and up the opposite bank for about a quarter of a mile. After mentioning that I found eighty men employed on it, I must refer my readers who desire further information on the subject to the mining journals. The ride to the mine from Mammee Gully was through a forest containing trumpet-trees; and logwood, and numerous ipecacuanha plants, with their splendid red and yellow blossoms, were growing by the side of the path. Copper ore had been found in the district of Metcalfe, as also fossil oysters at St. Thomas in the east; granite at Elizabeth, at the west end of the island; serpentine is found at Cornwall, and lithographic stone at St. George's; and beaches on terraces are observable near Porte de Foix.

A patriotic attempt had lately been made, in a pamphlet entitled "Jamaica and the Americans," to induce Americans of enterprising disposition to come and take farms upon the island, to be visited occasionally by their owners residing in the States. This might apply better to the mountains than to the plains on the coast, where black labour is absolutely necessary, and the

Digitized by Google

white men become more or less indolent with reference to manual exertion; the author remarking that attention had been given so exclusively to the cultivation of sugar, coffee, pimento, ginger, and arrowroot, that even the common necessaries of subsistence, such as corn, salt, pork, beef, lard, and potatoes, consumed in the island, were raised either in the United States or in Ireland, and the cotton and wollen clothing in wear were made, dyed, spun, and woven in America or in England. For myself, I venture to think that more irrigagation might be of use, and, when the attendant expense had been satisfied, it might fairly be asked (supposing the land for the time could not be turned to more profitable account) why a proprietor in unfavourable sugar years, and supposing he could command labour enough for that particular purpose, should not grow wheat for home consumption sooner than let the land remain idle. The plains of the Punjab are as hot as those of Jamaica, and yet the Lahore wheat is notoriously fine, grown under a system of irrigation. As seen from a distance, the plateau north of St. Catherine's Peak would seem to be a good wheat country.

The restoration of the sugar and coffee plantations by means of an increased emigration is the chief hope of the colonists in Jamaica, and is constantly occupying the attention of the Government and the Legislature. The cultivation of

Digitized by Google

cotton is a supplementary attempt which has been in some respects successful, and will, no doubt, be persevered in as it promises to be more so. It will probably become one of the staples of the island, although at present the returns are but small. Another measure in contemplation, which would require a long time to secure any amount of success, is that of enforcing a more extensive system of religious and moral education. Considerable sums have been given at different periods for kindred purposes, but no extraordinary and general measures have, I believe, been as yet resorted to. It was not until several years after the Emancipation (August 1, 1838) that the importation of coolies was commenced, and I am informed that, altogether, it has not answered satisfactorily, as the public treasury is bound to defray the expenses of their return, or give them £10 apiece. Africans are certainly the labourers best adapted to the climate, and the fearful struggle now going on in the United States may result in good to Jamaica. Perhaps the Southern planter may have to contend with the same difficulties as the Jamaican: he may have to ask the negro to work for him, and the result may be the immigration of free negroes into the island.

The commercial prosperity of the island will not yet be affected by reflection on its political future, under a view of contingencies upon which

Digitized by Google

the North American presidential election of every four years seems to confer additional distinctness. A glance at the map will assist any speculations on the subject. The possession of San Domingo by Spain, or that of Cuba by North America, would bear upon the mutual relations of Jamaica and England, but would make but little difference to the black population, whose condition would not be the better—probably much worse—for any change of masters.

Unless England be unhappily involved in a war with Spain or America, it may be presumed, I think, that, in whatever direction exertions may be made for an increase of prosperity in Jamaica, they will be untrammelled by any positive and opposing influences save those of competition and the remediable want of labour. And although, again, the reattainment of a state of prosperity be certainly a question of time, it may be fairly assumed that its course thither will not be materially interrupted by unforeseen disturbing causes, but, on the contrary, will be accelerated by the increasing interest attached to all intelligence from these meridians.

Digitized by Google

NICARAGUA, GREY TOWN, &c.

Grey Town (previously known as San Juan del Norte) was so named in compliment to Sir Charles Grey, governor of Jamaica, when the king of the Mosquito Coast was crowned there. It consists generally of a collection of isolated huts and small houses at the mouth of and on the left bank of the harbour formed at the mouth of the river of the same name, about 100 yards in width, and descending from the Lake of Nicaragua with a course of about 119 miles, in which the current is only moderately strong, excepting where the continuous ascent is rendered impassable by three or four rapids. The strongest of these confers additional importance to the little fort of Castillo. The situation of Grey Town, on a flat shore by the harbour, backed by a swampy forest, is not particularly healthy, and large snakes and alligators occasionally make their appearance on the outskirts. The ocean beach is studded with low trees, amongst which the sea-grape is common, and a powerful and natural network of marine plants protects it from the ravages of the sea, whose waves beat with full power upon it.

Captain Hollins (U.S. navy, now in the service of the Confederates) was the commander of the

Digitized by Google

Cyane (a sloop which we took from the French, and the Americans took from us), which, on account of some insult, was towed into position; and he then sent the roofs flying with his round shot, doing, so I heard, little harm to the lower order of inhabitants, but a great deal of damage to the more opulent, whose claims were then still under consideration. A flat point of headland projects from the south bank of the river, narrowing its suddenly expanded debouchure to a width of less than half a mile, and thus helping to form an extensive harbour about two miles in width, in which there are upwards of thirty different species of fish, a few sharks, and numerous alligators. It has, however, a tendency to silt up, and has been much narrowed during the last twenty years by the elongation of the flat headland just mentioned. The river itself emerges from the primeval forest, and occasionally brings with it trunks of trees and large tufts of grass, which are borne by the stream into contact with the cables of ships at anchor, so that snakes, which are sometimes upon them, take the opportunity to escape by swarming up them, and astonish the crew by appearing upon the lower deck, having made their way through the hawser holes, which consequently are often ordered to be stopped up. H.M.'s corvettes *Tartar*, *Cossack*, *Archer*, and the despatch gunboats *Intrepid* and *Victor* were in the harbour

Digitized by Google

with the mail steamer *Thames* and smaller craft around them, whilst the *Orion* was anchored and rolling buoyantly in the deep water outside. I remember to have seen in the English burial-ground there a sailor-like application of the text, "He that made Arcturus, '*Orion*,' and the Pleiades,"* which had been painted under the name, on the tombstone of one of the crew of that ship by a messmate.

On the headland or point were the workshops and storehouses of the Filibusters, erected originally in defiance of an understanding with the inhabitants of Grey Town, that the buildings were only to be used for the purposes of repairs, &c., and that the supplies were to come from the town: the infringement of which agreement caused an onslaught on the first bakehouse (which was destroyed by the inhabitants, headed by the mayor himself, a North American), and, I believe, the subsequent attack on the town by the *Cyane*.

The Mosquito Coast being under British protection, one or two naval officers, after every new arrival of adventurers, used to repair to the point for the purpose of ascertaining, by an offer of protection, whether any among them were detained there against their inclination. No further interference, of course, was made use

* Job ix. 9.

Digitized by Google

of, and such a reasonable request was usually met with civility, and sometimes made with success. Now and then somebody thought it right to bluster and thank God he was not a Britisher, when asked if he were a subject of Her Majesty; but a better feeling was generally predominant, and "three cheers for the British officers" were more than once, I believe, given as they withdrew after performing their unpleasant duty.

When I arrived in Grey Town the river steamers and forts were all in possession of General Walker, who was keeping the Nicaragua transit open, by agreement with a New York mercantile firm, who, in return, were assisting him with men and money and clothing, whilst benefiting themselves at the same time.

On the morrow of my arrival I commenced the ascent of the river in one of Walker's steamers, in company with Captain Sir H. Huntly, R.N., who, as well as myself, wished to see something of the Filibusters. At Siripiqui Point the river is joined by another from the interior. We found there a hut, almost in the water, and a detachment of Filibusters, chiefly very young men, whose pale faces evidenced the unhealthy situation of the place. Walker's commissary-general was on board, and they gave him three cheers as we pursued our course thence to Castillo, a small fort, with embrasures for nine guns,

Digitized by Google

on the summit of an eminence, about eighty feet above the river on the right bank, and at the head of the rapids, which, though not formidable to look at, were sufficiently so to compel us to disembark and change into another steamer after dining at the inn.*

We continued to ascend the river, which was about eighty yards in width, constantly holding its course, as heretofore, through primeval forest, the native haunt of the Curassow bird and the magnificent wild turkey (*Meleagris ocellata*) peculiar to these countries. The river is at present navigated by small steamers at different tracts above and below the rapids, the whole distance from sea to sea occupying about twelve days.

The advantages of this transit with inland navigation to the Pacific are too obvious to need eulogy.† The stream, I thought, was by no means strong; the rapids rather abrupt, than violent, could be surmounted by means of fourteen

* Nelson took this fort from the Spaniards in 1780, after landing a gun and dragging it up to the top of a neighbouring eminence in the forest on the same bank. The fort surrendered on the 24th of April, having been invested on the 13th. Nelson only remained there until the 23rd, having been recalled by Sir P. Parker to take command of the *Janus*. The fort was afterwards attacked by a force under Collingwood, who went to make a treaty at Grenada; and again in 1847 by the expedition in favour of the king of the Mosquito Coast, after he had been crowned at Jamaica.

† It would save 2,480 miles in a voyage from England to Australia.—*Vide* Appendix, Squiers' "Nicaragua," p. 663.

Digitized by Google

locks,* the rise in the whole distance to the lake being 128 feet. Sixty miles of lake navigation would then bring the traveller to a projected canal between the lake as a summit level, and Brito Bay, on the Pacific, a distance of nearly nineteen miles. To effect this a ridge, 48 feet above the lake and 176 feet above the Pacific, would have to be cut through, and the descent made by means of fourteen locks. The total distance from sea to sea is 194 miles, with twenty-eight locks, and an artificial harbour at Brito. Colonel Childs recommends the minimum width of the canal to be 50 feet, with a depth of 17 feet; locks 250 feet long by 60 feet in width; cost about £6,000,000. The distracted state of the country has hitherto prevented any successful exertion for the attainment of such a desirable object as the permanent security of passengers, although on the 19th of April, 1850, a treaty had been agreed upon at Washington between Great Britain and the United States for a ship canal between the two oceans. Nothing, however, has been decided with reference to the canal scheme.†

* *Vide* report of the survey by Colonel Childs (1851–2), the eminent American engineer, in the appendix to Squiers' "Nicaragua."

† Another plan proposed was that of rendering the Atrato navigable, and forming a canal navigation into the Bay of Cupica or the river San Juan into the Pacific. This route

Digitized by Google

The small fort of San Carlos stands on the left bank of the river at the place of exit from the lake where the country is more free from forest.

was favourably looked upon by Humboldt, but subsequent surveys, especially that made in 1862 by Mr. Trantweine, also an American engineer, was condemned as not promising usefulness excepting for ships of a very small class. Its length is about 200 miles. In some cases, as with the Atrato and other rivers that are more or less navigable, they are thus rendered useless by the bar at their mouth, and in others the difficulty of cutting a canal would be much increased by the impossibility of avoiding inland streams flowing at right angles to the projected cutting. This would appear to be the case in the line twice examined and surveyed by Mr. Gisborne and Mr. H. C. Forde (in 1852) between Port Escoces on the Atlantic and the head waters of the river Savannah, which empties itself into the Bay of San Miguel on the Pacific side, with the object of having a ship navigation, without locks, across the Isthmus of Darien. Mr. Forde, to whom I am much indebted for information, is of opinion that this route has probably the advantage over any of the others. As far as the harbours at each end are concerned, they are of a first-class order, especially that on the Pacific side. By stealth and a little daring these gentlemen examined a portion of the interior in the neighbourhood of Port Escoces, but as they soon fell into the hands of the native Indians, who unexpectedly turned them out of the country instead of taking their lives, as is their rule, but little information was gained on that occasion of the country on the Atlantic side. They, however, proceeded by Panama to the Gulf St. Miguel, and made an examination of the country as far as their means enabled them on the Pacific side. Enough, altogether, was seen by them to make it, in their opinion, desirable that a further examination and survey should be made. A second expedition was accordingly organized in 1854, under the auspices of the British, French, American, and New

Digitized by Google

The lake itself is at once opened with the horizon of a sea and isolated mountain-tops peering over it, the most conspicuous of which are the two

Grenadian Governments, at the head of which Mr. Gisborne was placed, accompanied, in this as in the first instance, by Mr. Forde, who took charge of the party of engineers that proceeded *viâ* Panama to the Pacific side of the isthmus, while Mr. Gisborne remained in command on the Atlantic side at Port Escoces. A short summary of the results of the expedition is given in the twenty-seventh volume of "The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society." The result of this survey proved the impracticability of the scheme. The lowest summit-level that could be found in the dividing range of the Cordilleras was 930 feet over the level of the Atlantic. The Atlantic slope of the Cordilleras is almost perpendicular at only a few miles from the Atlantic shore. The Pacific slope is steep, but much more gradual. Mr. Forde informed me that the country is densely wooded, and, to judge from the healthy state of the surveying party, the climate may be considered pretty good; however, as the rainy season lasts for nine months in the year, and vegetation is very rank, this opinion must be somewhat qualified.

I have already noticed the proposed Tehuantepec railway. (*Vide ante*, p. 10). Another plan was that of a railway across the republic of Honduras, from the Porto Cabello on the Atlantic to the Bay of Fonseca on the Pacific; length over 200 miles. The surveys were first made about the years 1855 or 1856, under the direction of Mr. Trantweine. The route is described by the projectors as offering great facilities both as regards the absence of engineering difficulties and climate. Mr. Squiers, already mentioned, and other gentlemen interested themselves much about this route, and Her Majesty's Government lent them the assistance of Colonel Stanton, R.E. The report has not, it is believed, been yet published. As compared with the existing route by the Panama railway it would effect a saving of distance beetwen New York and San Francisco of

Digitized by Google

summits of Omatepec and Madeira, the former rising to a height of about a mile above the sea on an island about twenty-two miles in length,

1,300 miles, or ten days; and would also considerably shorten the distance between England and British Columbia. A fifth plan proposed was that of a plank road across the State of Costa Rica from Chirigui Lagune on the Atlantic to the Gulf of Dolce on the Pacific. This is minutely described in a pamphlet published in Philadelphia, and in another in London by Mr. Silk Buckingham (Ridgway & Co.). The value of this route would be increased by the occupation by colonists of the land ceded to the company. The sixth plan is that of the railway across the Isthmus between Panama and Navy Bay, and which is, I need not add, already carried out. As far as I could judge, the only real alternative is that of a system of locks necessary to surmount the rapids of the Nicaragua river, or to cut deeply through the Isthmus in the direction of the present railway from Aspinwall to Panama, with breakwaters and gigantic masses of masonry on either side projected far into both oceans, in order to secure a confluence of water from such opposite distances, which again must be aided by the construction of locks to compensate for the difference in the level of their tidal surfaces. It is one of those undertakings of which it is safe to prophesy that it must be carried out at some future period. The Romans would have tried it at all events. But, by a rough calculation which he made, Mr. Forde estimates the expense at probably not much less, if at all, than £100,000,000, on account chiefly that for nine miles inland from Navy Bay there is a deadly swamp, and the railway had to be constructed on piles, driven from 20 to 40 feet into the marsh. A solid embankment has, however, now been made for the whole distance. For the next twenty-five miles to Gorgona the railway follows the direction of the river Chagres, and from thence to Panama it winds its way through a very broken and hilly country. One of the greatest difficulties in the way of executing the work was the scarcity of

Digitized by Google

with a much less width, contributing by such unusually marked scenery to render the Lake of Nicaragua one of the most beautiful I have ever seen. In the far distance, to the north-west, the

labour and the unhealthiness of the climate. A very large proportion of the labourers employed died, and those who were found best calculated to do the work were the natives of New Grenada, who used to come in small numbers at a time from Carthagena and St. Martha, near the mouth of the Magdalena river, and went away after working for a time so as to earn a few dollars. The railway was commenced about 1849 and completed in 1855. Its length is 49 miles; the summit-level 299 feet above the Atlantic; the maximum gradients being about 1 in a 100 feet. The river Chagres might probably be made available, to a certain extent, by constructing dams in different places; but at first a large extent of country would be overflowed. At Gorgona, where the canal would probably leave the river, and be cut through the hills to Panama, the river is about 80 feet above the Atlantic. If the river could be made available, it would perhaps effect a reduction of £20,000,000; but it is uncertain. The mean levels of the oceans are practically the same. Mr. Forde tells me that the difference of level between high and low water in the Atlantic, which is but about 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet, is apparently more influenced by the wind than anything else. At Panama there is a difference of about 20 feet between high and low tide. Mr. Forde remarks that the fact of this difference of level existing would rather facilitate than otherwise the project of a canal without locks, as there would be a double scour in every twelve hours; the current would run six hours or thereabouts in one direction, and six hours in the opposite. Navy Bay is a fine deep harbour, but rather open to the north winds. Panama harbour is shallow, and to make it available for all classes of ships would entail a great expenditure, as the shallow water extends about three miles; but there is deeper water beside the reef which runs nearly up to the city.

Digitized by Google

volcanic mountains near Grenada were distinctly visible, and on the right the hills of Chontales were lessening until lost on the horizon. A small island was pointed out to me as having been the residence of a settler who had returned home one evening to find his wife murdered, his house plundered and burnt, by a confidential overseer. After about two or three days' boating ascent of a smaller river, the Rio Frio, which enters the lake at the same place as the San Juan, there is a tribe of fair Indians who have very peculiar customs, are exceedingly jealous of strangers, and are supposed to be descendants of some Spanish settlers. Their country, story, and customs are deserving of investigation: a knowledge of them might help out the early Mexican traditional history, and ruins would probably be discovered. The situation of the locality on the banks of the lake is alike advantageous and remarkable, and cannot fail to suggest ideas connected with irrigation and a supply of wild fruits, so useful in a country expedition. Byam, in his interesting and unpretending narrative of a residence on the north-east shore of the lake,* says that some fair Indians whom he saw lower down on the San Juan river were called Caribees by the padrone of his boat. I did not hear that

* "Wild Life in the Interior of Central America," by G. Byam, late of the 43rd Light Infantry: Parker, West Strand.

Digitized by Google

name used, but they do not show themselves now. Mr. Squiers, in his excellent work on Nicaragua,* says (p. 89):—"A tribe of Indians, called the Guatosos, who hold no communication with the whites, inhabit its banks, and resist all attempts at exploration. The late commandant of the fort, Don Trinidad Salazar, endeavoured to ascend the stream a few months previously to my arrival, but on the sixth day he was interrupted by a large body of Indians, and after a sharp contest, in which he was severely wounded, was compelled to retreat. He subsequently gave me a glowing account of the beauty of the stream and the fertility and luxuriance of its shores. It has a depth of two fathoms of water for a distance of forty miles above its mouth, and from his account it could probably be navigated by steamers for twice that distance. The fact that a stream of this size and the wide extent of country round it are wholly unknown would seem to show how much remains to be discovered in Central America, and how broad a field it holds out for enterprise and adventure." There is also a great extent of unexplored country in the interior of the Mosquito Coast, where discoveries similar to those of Yucatan might perhaps be made.

After a voyage of about ninety miles, we

* "Nicaragua, &c.," by E. G. Squiers, formerly Chargé d'Affaires of the United States Government to the Republics of Central America. A revised edition: New York, 1860.

Digitized by Google

arrived at Virgin Bay, where there is a tolerably level road, so I was informed, through the forest of twelve miles only to the Pacific. The entrance to it was guarded by a picket of Filibusters, who were grateful for some trifle we gave them to buy tobacco. The small town was a collection of stores and rival eating-houses, much frequented by the passengers to California, and the most conspicuous objects were an excellent wooden pier and a gallows-tree, upon which several persons had been hanged, the last, as I was informed, having been a Romish priest, whose crime I could not ascertain.

NICARAGUA.*

The first news we heard was that General Walker was at San Jorje, a few miles further on by water, and that he intended to attack Rivas

* Nicaragua, while it remained under the Spanish crown, constituted one of the provinces of the ancient audiencia or captain-generalcy, sometimes called the kingdom of Guatemala, in which were also included the provinces of Costa Rica, Honduras, San Salvador, and Guatemala. These threw off their allegiance to Spain in 1821, and in 1823 united in a confederation called the Republic of Central America; which, however, in consequence of internal dissensions, was dissolved in 1839. Mexico, under the rule of Iturbide, endeavoured to annex the whole of Central America.—Appendix to Squiers' "Nicaragua," Chap. I.

Digitized by Google

the next morning. Upon our arrival at San Jorje we landed, walked up through hedged lanes to the village and head-quarters, and were received with friendly courtesy by the general, a short man, slight and wiry, about thirty-five years of age, with an oval face, high forehead, large mouth, and sandy hair, and a rather fixed stare from very extraordinary and light-grey eyes. His family came from Scotland, and are bankers, so I heard, in Tennessee. An old half-caste lady, who had known his family and himself when a boy, told me that it was supposed by some of them that he would have made a "splendid clergyman." The room was soon filled with Filibuster officers armed to the teeth; and after a short conversation as to the motives of our visit, we retired to sleep on board the steamer, and upon landing again early the next morning were told that the Costa Ricans had retired from Rivas, and Walker gave us an invitation to visit him there.

Certainly Nicaragua would make as pretty a little kingdom as any man could desire. Washed by two oceans, with ports on either side, a transit country almost of necessity, its soil of the richest, its vegetation complete, its climate excellent, its beauty scarcely to be surpassed, and its vast lake one of the most verdantly scenic I ever saw, it could not fail to be prosperous, and if its government in time of peace were not respect-

Digitized by Google

able and respected it could have no one to blame but itself.

I shall never forget the ride from Virgin Bay to pay the General a visit at Rivas. A great part of the way lay along the shore of the lake, which is chiefly covered with hard sand with drift timber on it, over which the crystal waves were incessantly rippling up to our horses' feet. One small creek only, passed in a ferry-boat, prevented our continuous advance, and two green iguanas started off from the opposite bank as we approached it. The island mountains were in full view about fifteen miles across the lake to our right. In advance of us was the island of Zapatero, and the volcanic peaks of Masaya and Mombacho, near Granada; the coast of Chontales being scarcely visible on the north. There are two kinds of sharks (*Tiburones*) in the lake, and I saw the back fin of one in the surf. Byam says that they are very large and much dreaded.* May it not be supposed that the progenitors of such unusual occupants of fresh water were partial to a particular bay in the Pacific, and that their egress was perhaps suddenly cut off by the upraising of the bed of the ocean by volcanic action, so common on the western coast of central America? Byam also describes the wild cattle, deer, and other denizens

* Byam's "Wild Life in the Interior of Central America."

Digitized by Google

of the forests on the north-east shore of the lake. He says that the coyotl or jackal is perhaps larger and heavier than the wolf, and that the coral snake is more deadly than the rattlesnake, which again is, I think, more deadly than the cobra of India.

The murex shell containing the Tyrian dye is found on the Pacific coast, and is used by the natives. I have seen it also, I believe, on the beach south of Galway in Ireland.

At length we turned into the forest, abounding with tropical vegetation for the whole distance, which we reckoned to be about nine miles. In Mr. Squiers' "Nicaragua" there is a comprehensive account of the first Spanish arrivals in the country, and I strongly recommend his book, as well as Mr. Byam's, to any about to go there.*

General Walker told me he considered the land on the Mississippi to be vastly inferior in richness to that of Nicaragua.

Rivas, built on the site of the original town of the native chief Nicaragua, consists of rather large and low, solidly built houses, disposed in long streets, crossing each other at right angles, and continued through hedgerows densely covered with blossom, into the surrounding country; but it seemed almost deserted except by the Indians, who brought in provisions for

* He quotes Peter Martyr, Thomas Gage (an English monk who calls it Mahomet's Paradise), De Lussan, and Oviedo.

Digitized by Google

sale to the Filibusters. The General was hospitable enough to turn out of his own quarters, and gave them up to us for the night, so that we slept comfortably on two large old-fashioned bedsteads, with hides stretched on them; we had our tubs in the morning and lived as his guests upon the substantial fare prepared for himself and some of his officers, at a sort of fonda or eating-house. We inspected the defences which had been abandoned by the Costa Ricans; they had thrown up some palisades and had altered the fronts of several houses and connected them by means of a deep ditch across the treet, which served as a covert way, and had placed an old gun in the most commanding position for sweeping the approaches up the street; but all was peaceful during our short stay, excepting that two generals quarrelled, and took a shot at each other under a table, one being hit in the hand. The presence of a spy was suspected, and I met a party of Filibusters, who were generally lounging about the doors of their houses, rushing pell-mell down the street with their revolvers in search of him.*

* Filibustering in Nicaragua commenced in this wise. An intimation having been made to a resident American named Cole that Castellon, the democratic candidate for the presidency, would be glad to avail himself of the services of some American, Cole went off to San Francisco, made an engagement with Walker and others, and a ship was procured and

Digitized by Google

I need not trouble my readers with a detailed account of the different actions and the varying

laden with arms. The anchor was weighed while the officers of the United States Marshal were drinking champagne with the Filibusters in the cabin, and they had no alternative but to go with them or to be put over the side. In his letter to the United States President, dated from Washington June 15th, 1857, Walker relates that he and his followers received a grant of colonization, and that, after various engagements, &c., it was insisted by the legitimate government that he should retain the command of the expedition. The other states of Central America not liking this arrangement made a league against Walker, and Costa Rica declared war against him. Duty to the Americans, who had been invited to Nicaragua, required him (so he adds) to accept the post of President (June 24th, 1857), and the result of the elections at the different polling places having been announced at Granada on the evening of the 10th of July, the inauguration took place on the 12th of the same month. The colours of the United States, France, and Nicaragua were intertwined, and a flag with a star representing Cuba was displayed over them as if supported by them. The Bible was opened, the crucifix adjusted, and a cushion placed on the floor, on which the president elect knelt. The oaths taken by him were administered by Don Fermin Ferrer, the provisional president. In his speech Walker alluded to the thirty-five years of civil broils and intestine commotions since the commencement of the revolutionary epoch of Nicaragua on the 15th September, 1821, and to the fact that the other four States of Central America had unjustly undertaken to interfere with the domestic affairs of Nicaragua, and that the miserable relics of a once-powerful aristocracy were striving to impede the march of events in that country. In conclusion he promised all reasonable freedom of speech, action, and trade. After the inauguration a procession was formed and entered the Cathedral, where the "Gloria in Excelsis" was sung; and *El Nicaraguense Gazette* says, in reference to the "Te Deum," that, "In the presence of a

Digitized by Google

fortunes of the Filibusters. Finding that they could not hold both capitals, Masaya and

handful of brave men, who were endeavouring to drag a nation out of the Slough of Despond, there was a sublimity about the scene not to be described." Afterwards there was a grand dinner, which was described by the *Nicaraguense*, from which I quote, as "A soldier's dinner,—strong, healthy, and good; in fact, a dinner with a backbone in it." General Walker presided; on his right sat Don Fermin Ferrer. No spirits, but wine only, were allowed upon the table. The first toast was to "General William Walker, president of the Republic of Nicaragua, the scholar, the gentleman, and the soldier, who, responding to the call of down-trodden and oppressed humanity, entered Nicaragua at the head of his invincible fifty-six, and established the nucleus of a great republic." Air, "See the Conquering Hero Comes." The health of the President of the United States was drunk in the most respectful manner, and was responded to by the American Minister, who, after some of the toasts, proposed "The Ballot Box," to which a voice added, "The Band Box"—(laughter and applause). Music, "Rock the Cradle, Lucy." An officer proposed "The Fifty-six" (the number of the first invaders) "and 1856" (the date of the year). An officer then proposed "The health of Uncle Billy"—General Walker—(cheers and laughter). Another speaker said that the Nicaraguans had that day learned the power of the ballot-box, and that there was a higher, nobler, and more manly way of electing a president than by revolution and assassination; the word treason had become obsolete in the United States, and should never be known in the Republic; adding, after some eloquent remarks, "The eyes of the world are upon you, and the page of history already lies open on which to record your deeds"—(continued cheers). The next toast was "Democracy, and he who, under Providence, is the agent for carrying out its great principles in this country." "The merchants of Granada;" the officer who returned thanks expressing his opinion that the day was not far distant when the name of a Granada merchant would

Digitized by Google

Granada, they burnt the latter. Some of them remained behind in the ruins and were closely besieged, being relieved by a descent of Filibusters, who gallantly fought their way over the

be synonymous with commercial integrity and enterprise in all parts of the world—(loud cheers). [Granada was soon after sacked and burned by the Filibusters themselves.] The next toast was "To those who fought and fell in Cuba," drunk standing and in silence. The next toast was "Progress." Soon afterwards an officer, whose health had been drunk, rose and said, "He was much obliged to them for drinking his health, as no one present was more in need of it than he was;" and added, "that he was indebted for the honour to a suggestion made by himself to its proposer"—(roars of laughter); "Cuba not as it is, but as it will be;" drunk standing with cheers; "Prosperity to Immigration," by the Prussian (Bremen) Consul;" "The officer who fired the first rifle in Grenada;" drunk with thundering applause; "The man who shot the man in the tower, whoever he may be;" "The dead in both conflicts in Rivas;" "Fraternity, Order, and Peace in Nicaragua;" and finally the General himself gave "The ashes of Christopher Columbus which rest in the Cathedral of Havana; they should belong to America, and not to Europe!" Tremendous applause followed this sentiment. An officer (a Cuban by birth) finished his remarks by saying "Yes, Cuba will be free, and from those ashes will we kindle the sacred fire of Liberty where they repose"—(continued cheers from Nicaraguans and Cubans). Next followed "The Manuscripts in Genoa, they belong to America"—(applause); "The *Nicaraguense Gazette*, the able exponent of the true principles of freedom; may the success of the editor be commensurate with his merits, and he will soon be a phenomenon among editors, and probably drive his own coach!"—(applause). And so, says the reporter, ended one of the most convivial, social, and intellectual entertainments at which we ever had the good fortune to be present.

Digitized by Google

barricades from the lake, when their friends were nearly reduced to extremities. I saw a young man, a native of New Zealand, who had carried the intelligence either to or from the besieged party; and, between swimming, floating on logs, and concealing himself, had been about six hours in the water.

In the before-mentioned letter Walker tells the President, that "A thousand Americans have perished in order to secure the lands and privileges promised them at Nicaragua." A New York paper states the number at 5,400 out of 7,000, who had been known to have sailed from New York, New Orleans, &c., to join the Filibusters.

As far as I could learn, Walker was not considered by military judges to have shown any great amount of talent for command, more especially in allowing himself to be cut off from his supplies from Chontales on the opposite side of the lake; and, finally, by not having been able to retain a single steamer for special service, and thereby remaining for a month before he received authentic intelligence of the circumstances connected with his fall. And I think, with reference to making himself popular by conciliation, he did not show clemency enough to those whom he affected to despise. Colonel Salazar, of an old and influential Nicaraguan family, was detected in a political conspiracy against him after having

Digitized by Google

given, I believe, his allegiance to him as President. He was brought before Walker, who held in his hand the intercepted correspondence, and addressed him in some such terms as the following:—"Colonel Salazar, is that your signature?"—"Si, señor." "And that?"—"Si, señor." "And that also?" handing him a third.—"Si, señor."

To which Walker replied, "You are ordered for execution to-day at four o'clock, and I shall send you a priest that you may perform your religious duties;" and he was bowed out, and executed accordingly.

On the 4th of August, 1856, Walker repealed an Act of the Federal Constitutional Assembly of the 17th of April, abolishing slavery in Central America, and the right to hold slaves was thus acknowledged by the Government of Nicaragua. He was very attentive to the description I gave him of the mode of gradual emancipation instituted by Bolivar in New Granada. It would not have been advisable to abolish slavery altogether when so many of his adherents were from the Southern States. Wishing to ascertain the General's views with reference to relations with other countries he obligingly sat down and wrote the following, in many respects, sensible letter in our presence, more particularly at the request of Sir H. Huntly, to whom it is addressed:—

Digitized by Google

Rivas, *December* 18*th*, 1856.

Sir,—In compliance with your request, I transmit you the views I entertain concerning the commercial and foreign policy of Nicaragua.

It is evident that the interests of this State require the utmost freedom of trade. Placed as we are on the tropics, and on a narrow neck of land between two oceans, high tariffs would only restrain the development of our natural resources; therefore it will be to our advantage to reduce our duties on goods to the lowest possible figure, and to make the ports of San Juan del Norte and San Juan del Sud entirely free.

With such a commercial policy it is clear that our foreign relations with the great maritime powers, England and the United States, would necessarily be friendly and intimate. The prevalence of the English language in Central America, and the predominance of the English race, would inevitably tend to the advantage of English and Anglo-American trade.

The consequences of the present political changes in Nicaragua will be similar, in a commercial point of view, to the effects of the English rule in India; while the natural staples of this country, sugar, coffee, cocoa, tobacco, and indigo, will be furnished in much larger quantities to the European markets, and the demand for English and American manufactures will be immeasurably increased in Nicaragua.

All the false views of political economy and colonial policy, which control the Spanish Government, cannot hinder Anglo-Saxon energy from deriving great advantages from trade with Cuba, which would be liberalised in commercial regulations.

The changes occurring in Nicaragua will be fraught with more immediate advantages to England than to any other European power. Thus, to take only one example, if Nicaragua and Costa Rica become friendly states, instead of remaining as they have been, hostile, the coffee of Costa Rica will go to London and Liverpool through San Juan del Norte, instead of to San Juan del Sur on the Pacific. In this way

Digitized by Google

returns of consignment made from San Jose will be received in two months instead of twelve; so, too, the indigo of San Salvador would cross the Isthmus instead of going round the Horn.

As far as annexation to the United States is concerned, the present condition and necessities of this Republic would make such a step impracticable. Here a military government is inevitable, and such a government is entirely foreign to the habits and prejudices of the American people. It would certainly be a misfortune to this country and probably to the United States for annexation to occur at this time. As to the future, "sufficient to the day is the evil thereof."

It has been suggested that the possible introduction of negro-slavery into this State might interfere with our foreign relations, but this can hardly be the case, as the introduction of slavery here does not in the least tend to revive the African slave trade. Time has satisfied the English people that Jamaica was ruined by the abolition of slavery, and reflecting men are disposed to consider the philanthropy of Las Casas as more substantial and practical than that of Clarkson and Wilberforce. Certainly the condition of the Indian in this country is far more degraded and degrading than that of the negro in the Southern States of the American Confederacy.

After the many false impressions concerning recent events in Nicaragua are removed, I feel certain that the English people will do justice to those who have wrought changes which must inevitably result in benefit to the trade of the whole world. You can do much towards removing such prejudices, and I am satisfied your visit here and acquaintance with facts transpiring, will tend to the advantage both of Great Britain and Nicaragua.

I am, Sir, with esteem,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM WALKER.

Capt. Sir Henry Huntly, R.N.

Digitized by Google

However we may have differed from the Filibusters in opinion, I am glad of this opportunity of saying that we gratefully enjoyed and well remember all the hospitality which it was in their power to afford us.

On returning from Rivas we again took the steamer down the river for Grey Town, with one or two of Walker's officers on board. The only remarkable occurrence was the discovery of several rafts in a creek where it was afterwards known that a party of Costa Ricans lay in ambush, and who, it was said, were in doubt as to the propriety of giving us a volley. They were contemplating an attack upon the point of Sirapiqui, and they carried their intentions into effect within two days afterwards.

A negro climbed a tree and obtained a distant view of the position and the unguarded state of the Filibusters. The Costa Ricans approached stealthily through the forest upon their invaders. The cook, one of the few who were awake, saw them first, and gave the alarm by calling out, "They're a-coming, they're a-coming!" Some ran to their piled arms, which they had not time to use; many of them plunged into the river, and were there shot or drowned. The officer in command, who gave me this account, was wounded, made prisoner, and afterwards released; and I gave him my

Digitized by Google

arm as he limped from the landing place at Grey Town.*

The Costa Ricans thus easily became masters of the first river steamer that touched there, and thence proceeded up to Castillo and the rapids, where the American agent made his escape into the woods, bound together some loose timbers with creepers, and on this frail raft arrived safely at Grey Town.

They then pushed on to San Carlos, allowed the unsuspecting officers in command to come on board, made them prisoners, put some of their own men in possession of the fort, dropped down the river a little way, and waited for the arrival of the next boat from Virgin Bay, made the passengers prisoners by means of the armed Costa Ricans concealed on board the vessel,

* Before going to Nicaragua, Walker had made an unsuccessful attempt upon Sonora, and had been tried and acquitted of any violation of the neutrality laws. A previous expedition against that country had been undertaken by the adventurous Count Rousset de Boulbon, in 1852. He went there to purchase mules, and endeavoured to possess himself of the territory containing the silver mines at Arisona. He was forced back by the inhabitants, and eventually retired to San Francisco, where, by the advice of Mr. Dillon, the French Consul, he again went to Mexico, and had an interview with General Santa Anna, who offered him a military command, but one which he did not care to accept. He was finally taken and executed by the Mexicans for a fresh attempt at invasion, not viewed without attention by the Americans in California, they having no wish that French interests should be successfully established on their frontiers.

Digitized by Google

assuring them at the same time of their safety; and the next morning at Grey Town we were awakened by loud cries of "Viva Costa Rica!" from the triumphant captors of the steamers, as they entered the harbour from the river and took possession of the other vessels.

All the arrangements connected with this singularly well-contrived and successful plan were made by Captain Spencer on behalf of, and at the expense of, Messrs. Vanderbilt, of New York, the original promoters of the Nicaraguan transit, and who thus again became repossessed, to the exclusion of another mercantile house, which was in connexion with Walker and the Filibusters. All water communication with the latter was thus cut off from the Atlantic coast. An amusing confusion was visible in the harbour: one of the steamers, with their new guard of Costa Ricans on board, drifted across to Grey Town, the wind being so strong that she could not, at that time, be towed away, and having no steam up, and there being no time to lose, as one of the large New York boats was hourly expected with a fresh detachment of Filibusters, it was proposed to burn her; when Captain (now Rear-Admiral) J. E. Erskine, of the *Orion*, to whom, with the other officers commanding Her Majesty's ships, much praise is due for the judgment displayed by them in dealing with the rival parties, and preventing

Digitized by Google

outbreak and bloodshed, without any unnecessary interference, sent an officer with an offer to tow her off, providing all parties agreed. It was a curious sight: the wild, rugged-looking Costa Ricans standing on the deck with their rifles; Colonel Kenny, Walker's territorial rival, and the Filibusters with some of their chiefs, looking on in the crowd on the shore. I was standing within only a few yards of them, and I heard the muttered threats and expressions of anxiety to make a rush in with their revolvers. Spencer was on the roof of the boat, occasionally descending, and once came to see what I was sketching, and from time to time was anxiously scanning the horizon; whilst within a stone's throw, in a store appropriated to the purpose, the chaplain of one of H. B. Majesty's ships was simultaneously and audibly intoning the church service (it being Sunday) to a very small congregation indeed, chiefly coloured women and negresses. Soon afterwards the steamer was towed from the shore, and formed one of a string that began slowly to ascend the river, in order to avoid the chance of attack from the new arrivals, who were mortified by coming up just in time to see all means of joining Walker thus taken from them.

Walker never recovered from the effect of this "ruse," and on the 1st May, 1857, his supplies and means of communication being

Digitized by Google

cut off, he left Rivas with his officers and men, unmolested, under agreement entered into with Captain Davis, U.S. navy, who had come on purpose from San Juan del Sud, on the Pacific. In the agreement Walker thanks his comrades, says that he entered into it only on the solemn assurance that his forces on the San Juan river had gone away to the United States, and adds: "Reduced to our present position by the cowardice of some, the incapacity of others, and the treachery of many, the army has written a page of American history which it is impossible to forget or to erase. From the future, if not from the present, we may expect just judgment."

The last attempt to retake Castillo had been previously made by means of an old steamer which the Filibusters fitted up at Grey Town; but the attack was repulsed by Colonel Cauty, an Englishman, with a garrison of fourteen men only, he himself managing to serve the only gun and position under a fire from the Filibusters' rifles; and it was during this, their last expedition, that the Costa Ricans laid a trap for them with terrible success. They hollowed out a number of the small logs at one of the usual wooding stations, filled them with gunpowder tightly rammed, and then closed them up and strewed them about so that their appearance was not in the slightest degree suspicious.

Digitized by Google

The Filibusters stopped, took in their wood as usual, and fed their furnaces with these logs: the consequence was an explosion which killed three or four of their leading men, wounded several others, and put an end to the expedition.

I believe that filibustering in time of peace is at an end; and so thought one of them who had done his duty right well, and whom I heard exclaim that he should have to "fall back on old Ireland again."

The *Panama Star and Herald* of November 8th, 1856, says, "The Costa Rica papers relate that on the 8th September, while the new flag of the republic of Nicaragua was being hoisted by Walker at Granada (which consisted of two blue stripes with a white one between them, having a red star in the centre), the flagstaff was surrounded by cannon to salute the flag as it was raised, but on the signal being given, the flag unfortunately caught across the muzzle of one of the guns and was blown to pieces. The believers in omens will see in this a most unlucky omen for the Walker Government."

"It surely ought to be the prayer of every Christian and patriot, that such expeditions may never again receive countenance from our country, or depart from our shores."—President Buchanan's Message, Dec. 8, 1857. Nevertheless, towards the end of July, 1860, Walker set sail from New Orleans (after having been

Digitized by Google

once arrested there, and admitted to bail for 2,000 dollars) in the schooner *Dew Drop*, with nearly one hundred followers. On August 6th he landed at Truxillo, in Honduras, and took possession of the fort, from which he was soon driven by a force from H.B.M. war steamer *Icarus*, and was afterwards obliged to surrender; and having been delivered over to the authorities of Honduras, was shot, by their order, as a pirate, holding a crucifix in his hand, on an early day in September. The *Dew Drop* had previously returned to New Orleans for a fresh supply of men, but was chartered with a cargo to Belize instead. The Filibusters who surrendered with Walker were all sent back to New Orleans. He came prepared with the following address to the people of Honduras:—

More than five years ago I, with others, was invited to the Republic of Nicaragua, and was promised certain rights and privileges on condition of certain services rendered the State. We performed the services required of us, but the existing authorities of Honduras formed a combination to drive us from Central America.

In the course of events the people of the Bay Islands find themselves in nearly the same position the Americans held in Nicaragua, in November, 1855. The same policy which led Guardiola to make war on us will induce him to drive the people of the Islands from Honduras. A knowledge of this fact has led certain residents of the Islands to call on the adopted citizens of Nicaragua for aid in the maintenance of their rights of person and property. But no sooner had a few adopted citizens of Nicaragua answered this call of

Digitized by Google

the residents of the Islands by repairing to Ruatan than the acting authorities of Honduras, alarmed for their safety, put obstacles in the way of carrying out the Treaty of the 28th of November, 1859.

Guardiola delays to receive the Islands because of the presence of a few men he has injured, and thus for party purposes not only jeopardizes the territorial interests of Honduras, but thwarts for the moment a cardinal object of Central American policy.

The people of the Bay Islands can be engrafted on your Republic only by wise concessions properly made. The existing authorities of Honduras have by their past acts given proof that they would not make the requisite concessions.

The same policy which Guardiola pursued towards the naturalized Nicaraguans prevents him from pursuing the only course by which Honduras can expect to hold the Islands.

It becomes, therefore, a common object with the naturalized Nicaraguans [meaning himself and his followers], and with the people of the Bay Islands, to place in the Government of Honduras those who will yield the rights lawfully required in the two States. Thus the Nicaraguans will secure a return to their adopted country, and the Bay Islands will obtain full guarantees from the sovereignty under which they are to be placed by the Treaty of the 28th of November, 1859.

To obtain, however, the object at which we aim, we do not make war with the people of Honduras, but only against a Government which stands in the way of the interests not only of Honduras but of all Central America.

The people of Honduras may, therefore, rely on all the protection they may require for their rights, both of person and property.

W. WALKER.

The almost entire absence of a clear idea of justice was sometimes observable in the conversation of the Filibusters. It was only to be inferred either that they did think about the

Digitized by Google

question of right and wrong (I mean, of course, only with reference to their then occupation), or that they really believed in their right to "Americanize," and that invasion for that purpose was not only not to be deprecated by, but deserving of encouragement from, the Government of Washington. One of them, to whom I remarked that there was an Englishman in command against them, replied, "Yes, and he ought to be ashamed of himself!" But I remember a good trait in another, the friend of an Englishman who had been killed, and whose son, an intelligent little boy, thus thrown upon the world, was making his way as he best could, with the rest of the Filibusters after their discomfiture, to New Orleans, where perhaps, for a time at least, he would have been a mere outcast. The Filibuster appeared to have something on his mind; talking much and unconnectedly—he confessed, without being asked, that he had been in the Lopez expedition against Cuba, and I think evidently felt that he was doing a good and expiatory action when he brought the boy to an English officer and besought him to take charge of him on board his ship, a request which was, of course, humanely and immediately complied with. I was informed by an ear-witness of a speech made by Walker on board a steamer going to California, in which he said he "thought there

Digitized by Google

were but two great events in history—the Redemption, and the North American struggle for independence." When the news of the taking of Sevastopol arrived, some of the French and English at San Francisco met at a grand dinner; the American sympathizers with the Russians broke in among them and drank their wine. Upon another occasion they displayed their Russian proclivities by serving the Czar's representative the same way: and one orator, who was what the Americans would call very "tight" indeed, finished a speech by asserting that his countrymen alone could have taken Sevastopol in a fortnight, and wound up by saying he believed the tune played upon the last trumpet would be—"Yankee Doodle."*

TO NEW ORLEANS.

The sea was as smooth as a mill-pond during the voyage of about 900 miles from Vera Cruz to New Orleans, where the Mississippi enters the ocean through a bank of its own deposit

* England concluded a treaty with Honduras (November 28th, 1859), and with Nicaragua (August 28th, 1860), relinquishing the Mosquito Protectorate. The Bay Islands were therein recognized as part of the Honduras territory, and the Island of Ruatan was stipulated to be given up on the 1st June, 1860.

Digitized by Google

about 40 miles in length, which Sir Charles Lyell and the best geologists think must, according to calculation, have occupied upwards of 60,000 years in formation. On the right, as you ascend the river, the only remarkable object is the verdant ground on which the British were repulsed in 1815 (January 9th), and on the left is shown the spot where it is said that our forces were about to construct a battery, after carrying that of the Americans, so as to have taken them in flank if the attack had not been made too soon. The river passes the Crescent City in a rapid, muddy, impetuous, eddying stream, less than a mile in width, making its great depth and volume evident, as it were, on its surface. There is no difficulty in believing in the Mississippi after a glance at the large squadron of huge floating palaces at the wharf, and which at first attract the eye of a stranger far more than the city itself.

The elements of adventure in every phase are rife in this extraordinary place, and, contemplating its handsome public buildings, its brilliant shops, and the chequered crowd on its wharfs and pavement, one cannot avoid reflection on the future, when half the northern continent will send down its surplus of produce and population to an outlet unrivalled in position, but as a city to be equalled in importance, and perhaps exceeded in size, beauty, and

Digitized by Google

interest, by the yet dreamy capital which will command the mouth of the Amazon. In the spacious rotunda, saloons, and portico of the St. Charles Hotel are collected the representatives of the innumerable interests that are ever at work in the country where the political future, excepting to the merely scientific, must generally furnish the chief material for reflection. Mingling with the crowd, and with some of the best society in the United States, are slaveowners and the opponents of slavery from the North; adventurers of every grade, from the Filibuster to the hard-working Californian miner; emigrants, Mexicans, Cubans, West Indians, South American republicans, and natives of every country in Europe. The bleating voices of the negro slaves are heard together with the rich brogue of the well-nourished Irish porters. Amongst them may be noticed the inevitable thieves, who, pretending to be busied with the luggage, are in the habit of lifting any suspicious-looking trunk or carpet bag, with a view to ascertain by its weight whether it contains any dollars.

It was, I remember, at New Orleans that I saw a picture purporting to be a portrait of Mrs. Beecher Stowe introducing Uncle Tom to some high society in England, a performance not without some pretensions to humour, but

Digitized by Google

in which Uncle Tom was much the least vulgar person in the group.

The slave-market is, of course, as attractive to an Englishman as the bull-ring in a Spanish capital,—a revolting, but at the same time only too interesting a spectacle. I was not present at any auction of special interest, but the private sale-rooms are open to the street, and on the benches on each side are ranged negroes and negresses for purchase or hire. Some looked dejected, some less so; others smiled and did not seem to feel their position; some had nothing but the clothes they wore, others had little bundles with them; but I thought that the intense and anxious gaze with which they all seemed to scan the appearance of any one stopping to look at them, and the curious "Do or don't buy me" expression of their faces was such as no other relative position in life could impart to human features.*

But, independently of the present terrible conflict in the United States, it should not be forgotten that slaves have descended as a property and heritage from "the old dominion;" and in this view should the question be dis-

* In a statement in a New York paper of December, 1860, I find that the slaves, who in 1790 amounted to 800,000, are now increased to 4,000,000, and that before the end of the century, at the same rate of increase, the Africans in a subordinate condition would amount to 11,000,000.

Digitized by Google

cussed and dealt with, and not by unnecessary vehemence on the part of the slaveholder or by irritating appeals from the Abolitionist, which only awaken antagonism to what narrowly escapes being, or seeming to be, dictation but badly disguised. The development of practical results from any conscientious determination to act rightly, under any circumstances, be the discouragement and annoyances what they may, is effectually interrupted by the administration of ill-timed lectures and remonstrances, and the existence of the evil is prolonged by unwise and obstinate exhibition of earnestness for abolition. It is of little use to talk against slavery to those who, waiving the question of compulsion and the refusal of education, believe that the negro, not being the equal of the white man, and certainly not his superior, must, therefore, logically speaking, be so much his inferior and was born to work for him. But I have always believed that there are a very large proportion of slave-owners who do their very best to make their slaves as happy and as comfortable as their condition will admit of, and that their endeavours are often attended with success; and that, with reference to creature comforts, their slaves are often better off than many amongst the poorer classes of Great Britain and other old countries. With such persons the admission of the intrinsic evils of slaveholding, and an expression of

Digitized by Google

readiness and even of a wish to emancipate, is followed by an appeal on the subject of the great loss and ruin that would be consequent on any sudden and Quixotic alteration of present existences, as surely as mischief would follow an amputation without previous preparation for it. The condition of slavery, it is added, is now almost a matter of necessity with reference to sustenance and safety; and the force of this reasoning is placed in no weaker light by a general admission that a very small proportion of the slaves, uneducated as they are (some say not above one in twenty), would know how to set about procuring an independent subsistence for themselves—an opinion also given by the late lamented Mr. G. P. R. James (then H.B.M.'s Consul at Richmond), in the last page of his "Old Dominion," and one which he repeated to myself, as his conviction, whilst enjoying his conversation as his guest in Virginia. I heard that the last time the abolition of slavery was discussed in the Virginian Legislature, it was negatived only by one vote. As it is, however, the negro, still as a slave, passes the door of the Senate House at Richmond, within which is the fine statue of Washington, with a countenance highly expressive of firmness, self-control, and benignity, and looks up with amazement at the bronze figures of Jefferson and Patrick Henry; the latter of whom, with impassioned attitude

Digitized by Google

and unsheathed sword in his raised hand, is supposed to be exclaiming (as he did exclaim), "Give me liberty or give me death!" Certainly not without reason may it be urged that importation may have saved the negro from being victimised, such as by the King of Dahomey or the Ashantees, and that a state of slavery must be generally preferable to a participation in the horrors made known to us by the extraordinary enterprise of M. du Chaillu. But as it is impossible to regard such a state of humanity with indifference, we cannot but wish it bettered; and perhaps the most radical way of ultimately attaining that end is to persevere in our endeavours gradually to extend civilization to the interior by means of the settlements on the African coast, with substantial offers of refuge and protection by way of inducement.

At New York I went to see "Uncle Tom's Cabin" at, I think, the Park Theatre, which was crowded to excess. The performance was lengthened out to a duration of more than three hours. Uncle Tom sang "The Old Folks at Home," and died on the stage from a blow inflicted by Legree. The audience, of which a great proportion were women, seemed much interested; and certainly in no theatre have I ever witnessed such a sensation or heard such loud, uncontrollable sobbing as that caused by the death of Eva, a little daughter of the manager,

Digitized by Google

who acted the part exceedingly well. This scene was succeeded by a tableau representing her as beatified, which, to judge by the general effect produced, must have been very well managed, but not so successfully to those who, like myself, were near enough to distinguish the clean shirts and buttons of her celestial attendants. But the representation was interesting as the means of drawing out the sympathies of an audience representing generally one-half of a great nation in antagonism to the feelings and anxieties of the other, resulting from the existence of laws binding upon both, but which one-half of them would gladly have seen abrogated.

Meanwhile the negro population is increasing in numbers, and Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry did not tend to lessen what intelligence they had, or to circumscribe their knowledge of their position and importance. A terrible war is now raging for a constitution that must be altered (I allude to the elective judiciary); and it may be safely foretold that, should the Southern States be confirmed in their independence, a reform in that respect would speedily be made. One of the remarkable incidents in the struggle is the comparative absence of excitement and irritation amongst the slaves; at least we hear but little of it. It speaks volumes against the accusations of ill-treatment, though it must, at the same time, be admitted that they are well watched,

Digitized by Google

and, moreover, that many of them own to some sort of relationship with the family they serve.

"Cuba! quoqunque modo Cuba!" is the exclamation of the Southerners almost to a man; and it cannot be doubted that its acquisition would be of solid advantage to them. "The Union can never enjoy repose, nor possess reliable security, as long as Cuba is not embraced within its boundaries."* The chief desideratum of the Americans, the pet colony of Spain, whose sale it is said no ministry dare propose to the Chambers of Madrid, is at present the surest market for the slaver. It cannot fail, whatever be the results of the war, to become more and more intensely interesting in proportion to the increasing and unavoidable prominence of the negro question in the States, in combination with the countenance and assistance reciprocated between it and any future well-founded Spanish-American Government in Mexico. The attempts of Lopez and the Filibusters were, to use a mild expression, exceedingly unadvised. Upwards of 20,000 of the best troops of Spain and several vessels of war watch over the safety of the island, and any enemy's ship attempting to enter the harbour of the Havana would have been shattered by the fire of more than a dozen

* Official Report of the Ostend Conference, between Messrs. Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, October 18th, 1854.

Digitized by Google

batteries. I was at the Havana when General Walker arrived, proceeding from Nicaragua to the United States, after his surrender, and he was not allowed to land from the steamer which remained two days in the harbour. One reason why the importation of slaves is encouraged is said to be a wish that there may always be enough to assist in keeping the Cuban-Spanish or native population in check, who are discontented because they are so seldom officially employed in any place of trust.

The present slave population is about half a million. They consume a large proportion of the beef which is sent from the Barracas of Buenos Ayres, while the island is dependent upon the United States for its supply of wheat, &c. At this moment 150 tons of dried and salted beef is on its way to England from Buenos Ayres, as an experiment.

Formerly the slaves were so ill-treated that mothers neglected their offspring even to death, and even now but a small proportion of negro children are reared. Lockjaw is very common, and some ten or twelve per cent. of them die of it. Slaves in Cuba have certain rights which are not extended to them in the United States. A slave who considers himself ill-treated can demand a paper or written permission to seek another master—a regulation which is taken advantage of in the towns, but

Digitized by Google

which the slaves in the country are not sufficiently acquainted with to make much use of. He has three days allowed him, and after that his master has a right to keep or sell him as he pleases; and the slave may again repeat the same demand after the expiration of a month. He may also become a "Cuartado,"—that is, one whose price is curtailed or fixed. He has a right at any time to go to his master and, if necessary, to the Syndic, to have himself valued, and although his value may increase threefold the amount then agreed upon, his master cannot demand more for him than the fixed valuation, under, of course, certain stipulations. The advantage in this arrangement to the slave is, that should he be in a position to liberate himself, he knows the price he would have to pay for his liberty. My informant added, by way, I suppose, of defending any punishment at all, that a slave, in the command given ("Boca ábajo,"—mouth to the ground), could only be legally punished for ordinary offences with twenty-five blows on his bared back; and added, that the slaves enjoyed the sugar-making, as the vapour from the boiling process was always exhilarating. The weight of any opposition for political reasons to the acquisition of Cuba by purchase by the North Americans, and perhaps the consistency of any opposition at all, would of course become

Digitized by Google

subjects of serious discussion, were such a measure to be really contemplated. By the possession of Cuba the United States would no doubt be better enabled to put a stop to the slave trade, and we were assured in the last President's Message that they were in earnest, and they have since proved themselves to be so. Yet, with the knowledge that there are existing opinions among the masses in the Southern States favourable to the legality and expediency of slavery, it is doubtful whether emancipation would certainly follow upon the acquisition of Cuba, and whether the new advantages would not perhaps rather operate with some as an inducement to continue it.

The present war has proved that one effect at least of slavery was to do harm by keeping conflicting opinions on the stretch. It will still have the same tendency if preserved, as it most likely will be, by the separated Southern States. It will add to their wealth, and England will be better supplied with cotton; but as it tends to weaken morally by isolation of opinion, and socially by internal pressure, it will be difficult for us to avoid reflecting, however painfully, on the celebrated saying of Rochefoucauld, that "there is always a something in the misfortunes of our best friends which is not displeasing to us;" and that, in fact, every well-educated American would be

Digitized by Google

aware, that, politically speaking, no enemy could wish him a greater harm than his retention of slavery.

The river at New Orleans is about 200 feet in depth, much the same as that of the river below Niagara, and it is probable that, like that of the Indus and many other great rivers, its channel would be found to be of hard rock. The floating palaces, with drawing-rooms 100 yards long, are obliged to start at once with great speed in order to stem the flood that has descended for more than 3,000 miles to meet them. The wood of which they are built, like the civilized savage, again revisits its native forests, and one thinks of General Jackson descending in hot haste to his victory; and what must have been the energies of men who could set out deliberately to track a barge up such a stream for six months, and the gouging and other untoward events consequent upon a dispute about the right of precedence on the banks of this interminable stream, whose volume seems unalterable, whose narrowness and sameness are comparatively objects of unceasing wonder, and whose restless waters are nowhere, so I remarked, without being covered with eddies even up to its very sources! Some of the best society in "the States" is often to be met with on board the steamers; and music, dancing, and card-playing are the employment

Digitized by Google

of many who ascend and descend the river for a month's holiday. Newly-married couples frequently pass their honeymoon on board, occupying the "bridal cabins," which are recognizable by the richness of their yellow silk "fixings." It was from a spot near Natchez that the river was first discovered by De Soto. The remains of the Mormon Temple of Nauvoo are amongst the few objects which vary the otherwise constant character of the appearance of the towns and villages on the banks. Vicksburg, presenting no remarkable appearance, is about 170 miles, in a straight line, from New Orleans. The clearer waters of the Ohio and the Missouri are discernible long after their junction with the Mississippi, and much of the scenery, although nowhere remarkable for boldness, is still very beautiful where the forest has not yet been invaded by the axe and the sawmill. The picturesque cliffs, which overlook the expanse known as Lake Pepin, offer some variety in the view, and at the "Portage des Chiens" the flattened bank permits, from the deck, the first view into the open prairie. St. Paul and St. Anthony are the last towns to be met with; and two or three falls at the latter place, some twenty or thirty feet in height, and turning numerous sawmills prevent the further ascent of the steamers from below, although some smaller craft make their way up against the stream for another day's journey.

Digitized by Google

Between St. Paul and St. Anthony the Mississippi, where it is about 150 yards in breadth, is joined by the Minnesota, a smaller stream, approaching between verdant and gently sloping banks. Fort "Snelling," at the junction, is necessary as a protection against the incursions of the Sioux or Dacotah Indians, some of whom I saw there. They were tall, straight, wiry figures, with large heads and ogre-like countenances, gazing with ill-concealed interest at the steamer that was smoking under the walls of the fort. They were partly clothed, wore a few feather ornaments, and were armed with tomahawks, bows and arrows, and were smoking from pipes made from the red slate-stone peculiar, I believe, to the quarry of the Coteau des Prairies, between Minnesota and Missouri, and of which material they make also ornaments, which are brought into St. Paul for sale.* Near St. Anthony is a small lake resorted to for picnics and bass-fishing; cornelians are occasionally picked up on the shore.

After having made our arrangements, my companions and myself, Mr. S—— and Herr S——, and our guide, ascended, for about twenty-four hours, as far as we could by the steamer, and then rode across to the Sauk Rapids, where there is a tolerably comfortable hotel, and thence started for

* *Vide* Wilson's "Prehistoric Man," vol. ii. p. 5.

Digitized by Google

a journey across the prairies to Pembina, on the Red River, and the settlement on it known as that of Rupert's Land. Our first point was Fort Ripley, where we met with a kind welcome from the American artillery officers, and where the Mississippi, with its ever curling surface, was about the size of a large English trout stream. It was within, I think, two or three days' march of this fort that I went some four or five miles out of the track with one of the guides, to see the Otter-tail Lake, a beautiful sheet of water fringed with trees, and apparently some five or six miles in length, with less width. Close to it, at the northern end, was the open verdant dividing ridge (reminding me of a Roman encampment), being the watershed whence the streams descend, of the Mississippi on the south and the Red River on the north. Thirty years ago buffaloes grazed on the plains in its vicinity. A mile or two beyond the fort we met an Indian on horseback; he was the chief of the Chippeways, but at enmity with the Dacotahs. He is known as "The Little Boy" of the tribe, and by other titles. I sketched his portrait on my return. He was good-looking, with aquiline features, brown eyes and thick lips, and light copper-coloured complexion, wearing two hawks' feathers hanging downwards and backwards from behind the right ear, his hair being parted into two plaits, like those worn by the Spanish native women throughout South America.

Digitized by Google

He was dressed in a red shirt, short trousers, and a woven red scarf like a plaid. He had distinguished himself by having alone entered into the prairies of the Sioux, and found out and killed one of them with whom he had contrived to quarrel. His father, the late chief, was a great man in his way, and his tomb was in the neighbourhood of the wigwam on the Crow-wing Creek, a small feeder of the Mississippi, and about seventy yards in width, where we crossed it by one of those simple contrivances which make use of the stream itself as a driving power, and which I, at all events, here saw for the first time, and wondered it is not sometimes used in England. A stiff stay rope is fastened on both the banks with a couple of running rings on it: when it is necessary to cross the river, the head of the boat is drawn closer to the forward ring than the stern is to the after ring, by the small ropes attached to them, and the boat is thus driven across by the moving power of the stream acting upon the quarter. A similar mode of passing a stream, I have heard, is in use in the country around Smyrna.

Here we fairly entered upon the wild prairies, at first frequently covered with wood, and, it being in the month of July, we soon suffered dreadfully from mosquitos. I had no idea of what we had to encounter, and the curtains

Digitized by Google

prepared at St. Paul were of no use, the mesh being too large. Sleep was out of the question until about four o'clock in the morning, when these terrible insects, gorged and wearied, collected together so as to form a dark-coloured space on the inside of the tent. It is most desirable that a traveller should have mosquito curtains properly made up in London or one of the large cities of the United States. Our guide assured us, and with reason, that he would undertake to convey any lady over the prairies in such a way that, by means of mosquito veils and curtains, she should not be once bitten. Our horses got no rest: huge horseflies half buried themselves in their coats in the daytime, and the smoke of fires purposely kindled was insufficient to protect them at night. They were often missing in the morning, and wandered far from the encampment, and eventually became fevered, knocked up, and died off one by one. The application, by means of a feather, of fresh lemon-juice, which may be carried in a small phial, is a very effectual means of relieving the irritation caused by a mosquito bite. It is necessary to add, that we started about the 14th of July, and that on our return in September there were no mosquitos. They seem to disappear suddenly, as they do in Norway, the first cold night at the end of August.

Digitized by Google

It is of little use attempting to alter the arrangements of the guides: they like to have everything their own way, and contrive to get rid of all luggage which they think superfluous. An offending package containing maccaroni was surreptitiously pitched from the cart, and a sketch portfolio of my own shared the same fate, but was recovered by sending a man back to look for it on the track, at a distance of three days' march from Pembina. But the independence of some of these guides, when fairly on the prairies, is often complained of, as it sometimes changes into insolence, which is not decreased by the free use of brandy, on which, if possible, some of them—I do not say all—are sure to make an onslaught. One of ours was scarcely ever sober while it lasted; and once I remember finding him near the camp lying on a slope insensible, and with his head downwards. On our return I took care to secure the services of the best and most respectable; but, for the benefit of other travellers, I think it right to remark that the most objectionable of those whom we had picked up at St. Anthony did not bear a British name.

The start at sunrise on the prairies makes some amends for sleepless nights and other annoyances, excepting to the poor jaded horses, who have neither been permitted to rest nor feed. To a sportsman the march is of high

Digitized by Google

interest: the prairie-hen or four-winged grouse is generally to be found within half a mile of the track; wild ducks, now and then a goose, and snipe rose from the sedge of almost every morass. Spruce partridges were treed, and woodcocks flushed, in the larger woods and smaller patches of cover. Wild pigeons, of whose numbers there are such marvellous accounts, are often to be scared from the isolated clumps of trees which rise on the rounded eminences by the pathside. Buffalo are now but rarely seen on the prairies east of the Red River, but deer, and occasionally wapiti or elk, are to be met with there; and I saw bear, wolf, and that valuably-furred animal the silver fox. I had purchased a black curly-haired retriever, unbroken, but good-looking enough to be taken to any cover side in England. I once missed him for some time in a small wood, and at last found that he had torn a large snake to pieces: at all events, I saw in the thick low bushes the only part left, about as thick as a man's wrist, of what was, I believe, a rattlesnake; but it is somewhat singular that in no part of America have I ever heard the rattle of, or seen, a live rattle-snake. The vicinity of a skunk is known for some distance before the tip of his bushy tail is noticed moving over the shorter grass in the prairie, and it was curious to see the determina-

Digitized by Google

tion of the dog to attack one in spite of extreme repugnance evident at the same time. In two or three instances, after hesitating, I saw him make a desperate rush; the skunk was shaken and killed outright, and he then repeatedly rubbed his nose on the ground in a state of disgust and frenzy. The Indians and Canadian hunters say that the flesh of the skunk is excellent if the offensive part be got rid of immediately.

Upon four or five occasions it became necessary to cross a deep stream or river, about seventy yards in width, running into the Lake of the Woods. The guides constructed, as usual, a sort of boat, by drawing up with a cord the edges of the water-proof covering of the baggage-cart, purposely prepared for such an exigence, and then stretching it by laying the two wheels inside. The body of the cart was laden and floated over, and the horses were driven into the stream and forced to swim. The whole process often occupied several hours, but no accident of consequence ever occurred. One of the encamping grounds was on the banks of what is known as Humboldt's Lake, some two or three miles across, and generally fringed with forest. On two or three occasions we saw some Indians of the friendly tribe of the Chippeways.

I made a boy and girl, who were fishing, supremely happy by the gift of two or three English

Digitized by Google

fish-hooks; and not far from them, on the banks of the same lake, we saw some young Indians, apparently watching some newly-made graves, over each of which had been placed some bark and pieces of wood, so as to form a pent-house, about a yard in height, over the low mound of earth beneath. One evening the quick ears of our guides discovered the approach of some Indians —two men and a boy,—who were glad to get some supper and sleep by the fire. Upon being asked in the morning to show us how they usually reposed, they directly drew their blankets closely round them, crouched down like hares on the form, doubling themselves up into a shapeless lump, the top of the head only being visible as they pressed their foreheads to the ground. Our guides said that they will sometimes awake in a profuse perspiration, even in the very cold weather. I shall never forget the look of alarm in the face of one of our guides when, upon arriving at the summit of a rising ground, we suddenly saw a file of Indian men and women approaching, who, although friendly and passing on, after a few salutations, might not have found it difficult to pick a quarrel with the half-bred guides had they been alone. We afterwards crossed a regular Indian trail, which they said must have been made by an incursion of Sioux, a regular and trampled path, about a foot and a half in width, running east and west through the long grass. It had been made, probably, by

Digitized by Google

a party who had fired the prairie to the south, where we saw a vast column of smoke rising to an immense height, and probably some forty or fifty miles distant, as our march on that day made no very great difference in direction, and we did not lose sight of it until the next day. Every one has heard of the apparently instinctive manner in which Indians have been known to follow precisely the same direction over a trackless country as others who had preceded them, even after a lapse of many years; but surprise ceases when it is known that they do not follow the same track because they can recognize it at their feet, but because it is their custom to be ever on their guard against ambush, and therefore they go from one rising ground to another, and follow the ridge or line of country which affords them the best means of reconnoitring. The old chief always walks first, as being the most experienced; so that, in fact, it would be more extraordinary if they did not follow the track of their predecessors when going in the same direction.

The beauty of the open prairie, after its kind, as seen from any eminence, can hardly be exaggerated—a very ocean of long, elastic grass, whose nearest surface is coloured by its numerous flowers, and often alive with rolling waves of reflected light as it yields and bends to the winds that are driving over it. The colour of

Digitized by Google

the verdure is gradually changed as it recedes into the blue distance, often marked by the sparkling water of a lake or morass, a low ridge or rounded knoll, with a few solitary trees. We know that beyond the visible horizon the same scene is continued to the westward for some 300 miles or more, and that the rich soil on these vast levels may have been produced by the crumbling down of mountains and by the agency of the waters which once covered the plain, and which have not there left a desert as in Africa, Central Asia, and Australia, and on the plains toward the far West. We think of the time it must have taken to form the delta of the Mississippi, which drains the prairies to the south, and the channel of the Niagara river to the north, and how very few years will suffice to change the aspect acquired only by the lapse of so many ages. The flower of the pretty unpretending rose peculiar to the prairies here was now and then conspicuous among the grass, which it scarcely equalled in height. A high botanical authority tells me that he never heard of an indigenous rose in South America, whereas there are seven or eight species in the middle United States, besides others in the south, in California, and British North America.

Our guides occasionally dug up with their knives the root known as the "navet des

Digitized by Google

prairies," about the size of a small walnut, white, and nutty in flavour, the plant itself rising to about a foot from the ground, with little branches standing out at right angles from a ligneous stem; it has been cultivated in France.

The distance from St. Anthony's Falls to Pembina, in a straight line, is about 400 miles; but the march occupied more than a fortnight, chiefly on account of the swamps and creeks. Some two or three days before our arrival we met an American, who, with a single guide, had found his way to Pembina from St. Paul, having been sent for no other purpose, so we understood, than that of soliciting a few votes at some ensuing local election. At length, the low ridge known as the Pembina Mountain was seen on the horizon, and a turn in the forest track brought us in view of the first of the few houses of which the village is composed, situated on the opposite side of the Red River, whose steep sloping banks were one mass of mud. After passing the river, here some fifty yards wide, in a ferry-boat, we enjoyed a comfortable dinner at the house of the principal inhabitant an American gentleman, and a magistrate, whose hospitality I well remember, though forgetting, I am sorry to say, his name; and the next day we hired fresh horses, our own being quite done up and dying, in order to search for the Canadian hunting party who were encamped in the dis-

Digitized by Google

tant prairie. The scenery of the first day's march was prettily diversified, the track running near the ridge and through country alternately open and wooded. A brood of prairie grouse rose from the very path, and I tried to get near a large bald eagle that was perched on the highest tree within sight, but he soon spread a pair of wings which seemed to me equal in extent to those of the golden eagle. There is an eagle known as the bird of Washington, which is said to be larger than the common golden eagle: it may be a wanderer from the coast of Kamtschatka, where they grow to a very large size.

It was on the evening of the third day that we first saw buffalo (bison) in the distance—mere black specks on the side of a sloping bank. We encamped for the night by a small stream, known as the Park River, and interesting as having been the spot where "the brave but unfortunate Simpson"* terminated his existence in a fit of temporary insanity. We heard his melancholy story. He thought that he could arrive at New York more quickly by cutting across to the Red River, and so on by Pembina and St. Anthony, than by a direct descent upon Quebec, but fatigue, anxiety, and excitement must have done their work upon mind and body.

* Journal Royal Geographical Society.

Digitized by Google

Next morning we were soon in sight of the quarry, which began to scamper off when we approached them, and we were at once obliged to commence galloping in order to keep up with them. The plan is to ride close alongside and fire at any one you may pick out: a large horse-pistol is as good a weapon as any that can be used on such an occasion. The Canadians often ride with the powder only in the barrel, and the bullet in their mouth, which is dropped in the moment they make up their minds to fire. Experience has taught them that accidents would otherwise often happen, as there is often a crowd of them intent upon the same object; and in fact a man of the party we were in search of was killed by a hasty shot, delivered at full gallop. My own *début* was not fortunate. When we were within about fifty yards of the herd, and going at great speed, my horse, a very fine and well-bred creature, put his right fore-leg into a badger-hole, sinking into it instantly up to the chest, with his head and neck extended on the ground. I was thrown forward as far as any one has probably ever been, under similar circumstances, fortunately on the soft spongy ground, covered with tolerably long grass; so that, finding I was not hurt, I was still able to take a shot with my "Purday," and the buffalo I struck was found dead afterwards by the Canadians on their return. My horse being

Digitized by Google

slightly lamed, we thought it best to continue our search for the camp, which, however, we could not find. Our party contrived to kill four buffaloes, but a sharp attack of illness prevented me from doing as much as either of my companions. On one occasion, I crept within about fifty yards of an old bull, but the ball striking a little too high, he did not fall until he had received three or four more shots. My English companion killed one and the German dropped another of the largest size, but I was too unwell to go and look at him. One of the guides singled out a cow, and having wounded her with his own gun, came to borrow mine, with which he secured her. And most delicious beef she was—far better than that of the bull; the fat was rich and yellow, as if she had been fed upon oil-cake, and the steak (at least I thought so) partook of the flavour of venison, with a slight *soupçon* of that of bacon. The tongue of the bull is said to be utterly indigestible. There is not much danger in buffalo hunting—as the herd always run away—excepting from being trampled on, but if one should charge, his strength is sufficient to lift horse and man from the ground. Single animals, generally old bulls, who have been banished the herd, are often seen and are sometimes dangerous, though they generally avoid human beings. The appearance in the

Digitized by Google

distance of one, when seen "end on," as they watch the approach of the hunter, is very curious, resembling a large black wedge with a round ball on its shoulders. One of our guides brought down a wild goose on the wing with a single ball. One evening the horses came galloping amongst the tents, to the great consternation of the guides, who had lain down in their clothes, and thought that the Indians were upon us: but they had only been frightened by a wolf, and shortly afterwards we heard a pack of wolves "charming" as they hit off a scent, probably winding a dead buffalo. One day, I remember, we had a gallop after a wolf, but he escaped by plunging into the reeds of a morass. There are some 7,000 half-breeds in and around the Red River settlement. The camp of the Canadian hunters is systematically formed, and the carts are placed in an outer circle around it, for protection against the Sioux Indians, whose hunting grounds they invade. These hunters make two grand incursions in the course of the year, in summer, and again before the winter sets in, and travel in carts with their families. The meat of eight bulls or ten cows is considered the full load for a cart, and several hundred carts are employed, so that not less than from seven to ten thousand buffaloes are destroyed by them every year, in addition to those killed to the southward, by settlers, Indians, &c. Their

Digitized by Google

numbers are still astonishing.* A few months previously, a party which had been sent from one of the Western States to explore a new route, had suddenly, on emerging from a morass, come upon a rising ground, from which they saw the whole plain, as far as the eye could reach, literally covered with buffaloes, and remarked that there seemed to be a black nucleus of them on every square mile.

A good buffalo's skin is as valuable as a bear's skin, and makes a capital travelling bed so long as it can be kept dry, but if soaked with rain it becomes extremely heavy and useless. The meat is boned, cut up, salted, and made into "Pemmican" in the camp on the prairie. Pemmican is buffalo meat slightly salted, and when dry, pounded up so as to have the consistency of a coarse meal, and in this state it is crammed into sacks and sold in Canada. The best is made up with more attention, and a few spices and a

* We were now in the heart of the buffalo country, on the south branch of the Saskachewen. This region may be called a buffalo preserve, being the battle-ground between the Creeks and Blackfeet, where none go to hunt for fear of meeting enemies, and where those who go to war abstain from hunting. The whole region, as far as the eye could reach, was covered with buffalo in bands varying from hundreds to thousands. The timber on the small tributaries of the rivers kept off the buffalo, for the buffalo shuns the timber until midwinter.—*Vide* British North America Exploring Expedition under Captain Palliser, "Royal Geographical Society Journal," January 25th, 1858.

Digitized by Google

berry resembling a small cranberry is mixed up with it. It makes, after being washed, a rich and nourishing soup.

A fish known as the pickerel, a variety of the pike, is found in the small streams that are occasionally to be met with on the prairie. On one occasion, having encamped near one of these streams, about four or five feet in depth, and three to four yards in width, with low perpendicular banks, I proceeded in the morning to take a bath, and was instantly assailed by about a dozen little fish (which were evidently intent upon cannibalism), the water being just clear enough to allow my seeing them darting with all their force against my legs, inflicting a mild but very perceptible pinch, and then doubling themselves up and using their tails violently, to enable them to recoil with a mouthful of skin, which it was evident nothing but their diminutive size of from two to three inches in length prevented them from doing. I was unable to secure one, but conclude that they were distant cousins of the terrible *carribbee* of the Amazons and the Orinoko, which, although not above a foot in length, are often numerous and voracious enough to tear a man to death piecemeal, so as generally to render it, in many places, extremely dangerous to bathe in these rivers.

My companions dropped down the stream in

Digitized by Google

a large canoe, in which the German had the misfortune to lose the top of his thumb by his gun going off accidentally. I preferred riding along the bank, occasionally hearing the "Canadian Boat-song" from the men in the canoe, who sang it in time with the stroke of their paddles, and consequently more quickly and with more of a jerk than is usually given to it. On the third day we arrived at Fort Garry, so named from one of the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, who was sent out on a tour of inspection some thirty years ago. A fine mare, which alone had survived the journey, died in wo or three days after our arrival, and we were told that it is always best, if possible, to purchase horses that have been bred at the settlements, as they are more likely to recover by a change to their cold native air.

The very kind reception we met with at the fort soon made amends for the annoyances on the way, and we partook alternately of the hospitality of the officers of the Canadian Rifles, Major Caldwell, Captain Hill, as well as of Mr. Black and the other gentlemen resident on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company. We also enjoyed a very agreeable *réunion*, commencing with a fine bit of roast beef, at the house of Bishop Anderson (who gave us an excellent sermon the next Sunday). He had lately returned from a tour of visitation north-

Digitized by Google

ward, with which he expressed himself much gratified. The settlement extends chiefly in detached buildings, and for between three and four miles of the river flowing northward towards Lake Winnepeg, about fifteen miles distant. The soldiers, most of whom are married, chiefly occupy numerous small houses with gardens, close to the outside of the fort, and within the fort is a large store, where every necessary may be purchased. To the west is the open boundless prairie, and I usually found prairie hen, wild fowl, snipe, &c., within two or three miles of the fort. Some of the local sportsmen will imitate the cackle of the wild geese, &c., so well, that I have seen them descend and settle down almost within shot.*

* The settlement on the Red River, distant from Montreal by the Ottawa river about 1,800 miles, in lat. 50° north, long. 97° west, is elevated 800 feet above the sea on a level country contiguous to the wooded borders of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, along which the settlement extends for 50 miles. Soil comparatively fertile and the climate salubrious, but summer frosts, generated by undrained marshes, sometimes blast the hopes of the husbandman, &c. Settled by Lord Selkirk by a grant from the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1802. The Bishop of Montreal says that the soil is beyond example rich and productive, a wheat crop having been raised from the same land without manure for eighteen successive years. The people revel in abundance, and I can answer for the general appearance of plenty and comfort.—Montgomery Martin's Hudson's Bay Territories, p. 20, *et seq.*

Digitized by Google

One day a party of Indians suddenly made their appearance with some petition. They were, I believe, of the Mandan tribe, living on the north bank of the Missouri,—not such fine-looking men as the Sioux, but far wilder in their manner and gesticulations, and painted, feathered, and porcupine-quilled in a style that I saw nowhere else.

A small party of Canadian hunters was encamped near the fort. The chief turned out in an old uniform with epaulets to be sketched. I afterwards missed a penknife, which he recovered for me after some time spent in investigation among his friends. Their tents were formed by a covering of hides enveloping some long poles placed in a circle, and meeting at the top so as to preserve an opening that did duty for a chimney. The men and boys seemed to be occupied with doing nothing except smoking and gambling; the women were employed in washing and the preparation of skins. I had wished to return to the States by way of Lake Superior, but it was rendered almost an impossibility by a refusal of the necessary orders for supplies at the stations of the Hudson's Bay Company on the way. The greatest regret was sincerely expressed, but as I had come unprovided with any permission from head-quarters at Montreal, the Company's officers had no alternative but to do their duty. At this mo-

Digitized by Google

ment negotiations are pending between the Government and the Hudson's Bay Company for opening a telegraphic communication and a way for traffic across the continent from the Red River settlement.

We started from the settlement on our return to St. Anthony by the way we came, on the 1st of September, resting the second night at the Pembina Fort, a few miles short of the village. Here we came in for a regular scalp dance by the Chippeways. Some of them had surprised a party of Sioux in a tent and fired a volley into it, killing one, and his scalp was fastened to the top of a pole ornamented with ribbons in a knot, from which hung three little brass bells. One of the principal women held this, shaking it occasionally; she was one of many, who with some men and boys formed a large circle, hooting and singing together without intermission. An old chief, dressed in trousers and a jacket buttoned up to the chin, performed a sort of demi-dance within it, descanting loudly upon the valour and greatness of the tribe, brandishing a drawn sword, and occasionally fighting with some imaginary enemy. Spirits were handed round, and we were asked by the Indians to contribute to the purchase of more. The whole scene, presented by torchlight, was wild enough, the noise increasing, and the orgies being kept up to a late hour.

Digitized by Google

The next morning we recrossed the Red River, and were again on the prairie (September 4th). The mosquitoes had all disappeared, probably after the first cold night; and the weather was delightful. We noticed as we approached St. Anthony that several new houses had been commenced at a greater distance in the prairie even during the short period of our absence; but it is probable that many of them have been destroyed or deserted by their inhabitants, many of whom again may have fallen victims to the ferocity of the Sioux Indians in the war lately raging on these confines, and which will most likely put an end to individual enterprise in this direction for some time. Thirty of the Sioux, I observe in the newspapers, have been hanged, the mob having shown an intention to lynch a great many more who were prisoners for the time.

At Niagara I saw in the stream the remains of the raft with which an attempt was made to rescue the poor man who, having escaped from a fated boat for two or three days, was a prisoner on a rock near the edge of the American fall. He failed in his attempt to secure himself upon it, threw up his arms as a signal that no hope was left, and in a few seconds was carried over the precipice.

Chicago is worth a visit as a city with "an Almighty future." Not many years ago this

Digitized by Google

"place of skunks"—for such I understand is the meaning of the word—was composed of a few houses. It is now, as all the world knows, a depôt of corn grown in the wondrous and inexhaustible grain-garden to the westward, which requires little more than mere ploughing and sowing to render it productive; and it has been affirmed that the time occupied by a voyage from Chicago to Liverpool by way of the St. Lawrence is shorter than that occupied when the corn has to be shipped at New York after its arrival from Chicago.

The extent of the buildings in the Broadway at New York is now about four miles, and to all appearance will be increased to more than double that distance. Beautiful as a great part of it is, a greater width would have been an improvement. The ornamental display in some of the façades is rather overdone—at least, I thought so; and a new church there is seen in favourable contrast with them, not only on account of its being constructed entirely of white (Massachusetts) marble, but from the simplicity of its architecture. Three magnificent hotels, such as a great thoroughfare alone could call into existence, are among the most prominent buildings in Broadway; they are within a stone's throw of each other, and create a world of their own in their vicinity. The proprietors have the good sense not to differ in their

Digitized by Google

charges, and the payment of two dollars and a half a day includes bedroom, attendance, and the best possible fare—everything, in short, excepting wine. The negroes who wait at table are regularly drilled to their work, and the placing and removal of the dishes in a minute is regulated by the sound of a bell. Behind almost every chair at dinner at the St. Nicholas was a negro servant, wearing a pair of snow-white cotton gloves, and the splendour of the saloons seemed at first really to have the effect of imposing silence on the company. With less display, but equal in every other respect, I thought the Metropolitan one of the cleanest and most comfortable hotels I had ever known.

On the same evening that an Irish crowd was listening to an anti-English harangue from some Irish orators in a balcony, I remember that some three hundred Scotchmen and descendants of Scotchmen sat down to a public dinner at the Metropolitan, and drank the Queen's health with enthusiasm.

I crossed the harbour to Hoboken, in order to see the *Maria*, an elder sister of the *America*, which figured in the waters of the Solent, and was surprised at her great width and small depth in comparison to her length (120 feet), and the enormous size of her boom and mainsail. She is wonderfully fast over smooth water, but not, I

Digitized by Google

venture to think, so well calculated to go through a wave according to the present fashion.

One Sunday I crossed the ferry to hear the Rev. Ward Beecher. The church, which was exceedingly crowded, was admirably adapted for hearing, every corner being purposely rounded. He walks up and down in a sort of rostrum when preaching, and introduced the mundane subjects of slavery and non-payment of chapel dues in the course of his sermon. I remember his saying that he had never seen a portrait of Christ in the Agony in the Garden, even by the best masters, which, however admirably expressive of faith, hope, resignation, mental and bodily suffering, pity, &c., was, in his judgment, sufficiently indicative of "Divine Love." I know of a dissenting American minister who, when preaching upon Faith, pointed out as an instance that of Noah, who obeyed the Divine command at a sacrifice of property to the amount of a very large sum in *dollars!*

Never having heard any spirit-rapping, I attended a meeting at the house of a lady who advertised herself as the best medium in New York, and her raps as being "perfectly audible and reliable." I found an old lady and four or five gentlemen seated round a table at which the medium was presiding. After sitting nearly silent for about five minutes, the medium, a

Digitized by Google

younger woman, suddenly exclaimed, "There are raps!" I heard three gentle taps under the table, and we were soon at liberty to ask any question we pleased. I declined to put any.

The old lady expressed a wish to converse with the spirit of her granddaughter, being anxious to know "what the dear child said," and was quite impatient of interruption by suggestion or remark. Her son, who was evidently (as Johnson said he was of second-sight) "willing to believe," put, through the medium, what I considered to be a very fair question. He knew of a certainty that his brother had died in New York, and was very anxious to find out where he was buried. The spirit shut up at once, giving no answer to the question. The medium was at a nonplus for raps, then suddenly exclaiming "I must write," siezed pen and paper, commenced writing a letter on some trivial subject, backwards, with great rapidity, and then threw it down upon the table as the effect of inspiration. The gentleman who had asked the question just mentioned told me afterwards that the writing the letter backwards staggered him in favour of a belief in the pretensions of the medium. I was present as a doubting investigator, and the whole exhibition was an utter failure, the climax being the attempt by the medium to assign a physical

Digitized by Google

cause for the raps by asserting, in answer to my inquiries, that they were made "by means of a column of air vibrating over force applied by the spirit below!" It is strange to find persons of education believing that the rapping results from more than mundane agency, when they may be so easily produced by ventriloquism, collusive, magnetic, and mechanical means. It should never be forgotten that there is nothing like a mild wager to ascertain the real value of an assertion; that it may safely be offered with reference to one iota of intelligence for the future; and that mediums, clairvoyants, &c., pretend to be in possession of powers which, if exercised upon the Turf or the Stock Exchange, would certainly be the means of procuring them great wealth, whereas they are generally exhibitors for a trifling remuneration. "'Comment,' s'écria Leandro Perez, 'les démons ignorent l'avenir?' 'Assurément,' repartit le diable, 'les personnes qui se fient à nous là-dessus sont de grandes dupes.'"*

I saw an article "On the State of our Streets" in a New York paper, alluding to which a stranger could not fail to remark the extraordinary occupation of so much of the trottoirs by packages of every description; and, in fact, the shopkeepers seem to take advantage of it for

* "Le Diable Boiteux," chap. ii.

Digitized by Google

their own purposes, without regard to the convenience of the street passengers, and evidently under a tacit understanding that no one is to interfere with his neighbour provided he himself be allowed to do as he may please. When the Militia and Volunteers are exercising, or the "Hook and Ladder" companies of Firemen are on the move, a passenger is fairly driven off the trottoirs. The firemen are generally a very fine set of men, who do their duty right well, and are moreover anxious to be immortalized. I saw a coloured print in a window at New York, in which a young fireman was represented as "the real aristocrat of the United States;" and in looking over the sculptured panels patriotically offered for the interior decoration of the Great National Obelisk at Washington, I noticed that some four or five of the largest had been contributed by companies of firemen from different cities, with fire-engines, hooks, ladders, and other devices carved upon them.

Disturbances are of frequent occurrence in New York. There is, as everybody knows, an immense number of Irish there, a large proportion of them being voters. The police have orders to fire, so I was informed, the moment that a fight assumes a serious aspect; and I heard an eminent preacher, in alluding to the observance of the Sabbath, ask his congregation whether they knew that within musket-shot of

Digitized by Google

his church there were 100,000 Germans who wished for no Sunday at all? and a large proportion of these were also voters.

The state of the streets is a trifle in itself—a straw to show which way the wind blows; but still it is reminding that the command "to love your neighbour as yourself" must also, mathematically and logically, mean, that you are to love yourself quite as well as you love your neighbour. But a real and noticeable mischief of no mean importance is increasing as a result of the institutions of America. I allude to practical independence, of the anti-parental type, which is becoming more and more productive of anxiety. The Chinese, according to Dr. Kitto, have a proverb saying that all the virtues are in danger when filial piety gives way. It is, I think, observable that an English republican sends his sons to Eton or Harrow, or one of the great public schools; and I believe I am not wrong in saying, that many of the more wealthy families in America would not be sorry to imitate their example, were it not that public opinion would not countenance such an apparently aristocratic proceeding. But in America the child, with reference to public education, is supposed to belong to the State. An American gentleman informed me that he was going to Europe for the express purpose of putting his sons to school

Digitized by Google

there, adding that he did so in the hope that there they might not perhaps forget all respect for their parents. M. de Tocqueville, in his chapter on the difference of education in the United States and France, remarks that, "Long before an American girl arrives at the age of marriage her emancipation from maternal control begins; she has scarcely ceased to be a child when she already thinks for herself, speaks with freedom, and acts on her own impulse. . . . . In France, where the remnants of every age are so strangely mingled, in the opinions and tastes of the people, women commonly receive a reserved, retired, and almost conventual education, as they did in aristocratic times, and then they are suddenly abandoned without a guide and without assistance in the midst of all the irregularites inseparable from democratic society. The Americans are more consistent; they have found out that in a democracy the independence of individuals cannot fail to be very great, youth premature, taste ill restrained, customs fleeting, public opinion often unsettled and powerless, paternal authority weak, and marital authority resisted. . . . . As it is neither possible nor desirable to keep a young woman in perpetual and complete ignorance, they hasten to give her precocious knowledge on all subjects." And he concludes by saying, "A democratic education is indispen-

Digitized by Google

sable to protect women from the dangers with which democratic institutions and manners surround them." *

Of the proportion of good in the above systems of education the results are, we suppose, the best criterion. Young ladies, naturally of the purest and most innocent minds, alike self-confident and confiding, but nevertheless intent upon carrying out the idea of independence, which they believe they have a right to entertain, not unfrequently make companions of young gentlemen who are as honestly minded as themselves, and walk about with them, make up their little parties and picnics quite independently of their fathers and mothers; and when once such a custom becomes established, it is needless to inquire into the reasons of its being on the increase. I heard that the above-mentioned arangements often ended well and promoted lasting friendships and happy and well-assorted marriages; but still, as might be expected, it has not always been so, and enough has happened in individual instances to justify the general and serious anxiety of parents for a resumption of "true authority"—

"In true filial freedom placed." †

Families in the United States experience, com-

* "Democracy in America," part ii., p. 211.

† "Paradise Lost," book iv.

Digitized by Google

paratively speaking, but little of what in England is known as nursery education. They travel to the north, to Saratoga, or the coast, to escape the heat, and southward to escape the cold, frequently extending their visits to Cuba. The hotels are excellent everywhere; the expenses are known beforehand, the arrangements comfortable, and travellers prefer living in hotels to taking a private house or lodgings, so that the younger branches are constantly mixing with the company in the large saloons of the hotel or the steamboat. Americans, again, will not often become domestic servants; and, as respectable Irish are sure of getting employment, they will often leave their situations for any real or fancied grievance or provocation, or for the mere love of change, so that the Slave States alone are able to exhibit, what is more frequent in England, old and faithful domestics, who are sincerely attached to the families they have long served.

Of the United States it may be safely remarked that there is, with reference to the population, a greater amount of intellect on the stretch, than in any other country in the world, excepting perhaps Australia. The numerous ways and means of starting in life which are so advantageously presented for selection are the results of local circumstances in combination with democratic institutions;

Digitized by Google

but the undesirable consequences before alluded to are not the less assured by the foreknowledge of an equal division of property upon the death of parents. I need scarcely say, that any man in the States can, if he please, leave his landed property to his eldest son; that no one cares to do so, even were he so inclined, excepting under peculiar circumstances; the force of public opinion which prohibits being stronger than the law which permits: whilst with regard to Lynch law, Filibustering, and, until recently, the Slave Trade, it has shown itself stronger than the law which prohibits. It is curious to observe how the remark of Blackstone on the effect of Entail is, in the United States, exactly applicable in a contrary direction with reference to the effect of an equal distribution of property. "Children," he says, "grew disobedient when they found they could not be set aside," &c.; and the difference being, that in the case of entail the remark was, of course, intended to apply to the eldest son only, but in the United States it may be said to be applicable to all the brothers and sisters as well as himself, proving that such a result of democratic institutions would seem to be the Nemesis of a rationally artificial restraint and controlling influence, not easily attainable in a democracy. Observation of the state of society, which it is really not possible to avoid, will, I hope, be my plea for having ventured to

Digitized by Google

intrude these remarks on education, &c., and also for mentioning the only remedy, however indirect, which occurs to me, but which cannot be called into existence without a change in the Constitution itself. M. de Tocqueville (p. 301) says that "the profession of the law is the only aristocratic element which can be amalgamated without violence with the natural elements of democracy, and which can be advantageously and permanently combined with them." Whilst admitting the truth of this, I would add that the influence of the profession of the law has been overpowered, because as a preventive or a remedy the mode of its administration is not the best, but has remained as a flaw in the Constitution, to the injurious importance of which Americans alone appear to have been blinded. I would say, that advantage to society with reference to the evil complained of, and one which would be perfectly compatible with the existence of a republic (as distinguished from a democracy), would certainly, in time, be gained by raising the entire Judicature of individual States to a level with the Supreme Court of the United States, reserving, when thought necessary, to the latter, their appellant and negatively legislative authority. In the appointment of the Judges of separate States for life (or, to use the equivalent legal phrase, *quam diu se bene gesserint*), an observer can dis-

Digitized by Google

cern the only chance (let the results of coming experience be what they may) of amendment in favour of that legitimate regard for parental and other authority which would not interfere with any rational liberty and independence. When Lord Mansfield was pronouncing judgment on Mr. Wilkes, he told him, as every lawyer knows, that he himself "also wished for popularity; but that which follows, not that which is sought after." This distinction is not rigidly acknowledged in a democracy. But it is not lost sight of without some excuse whilst a comparatively enfeebled executive is insufficient (as in the case of Lynch law) to prevent a morbid love of distinction from risking a practical exhibition of itself, when anticipating the reward of popular applause. The changed character and increased dignity of the office of the magistrate could not but ensure a just respect, and would be an additional and proper subject for patriotic eulogium. Although numerically insignificant, the position of new judges, escaped for life from the vortices of election, might be the means of imparting the respectability they enjoy themselves, and of diffusing in good time by means of their own families the elements of solidity, in addition to those derived from the wonderful advantages of as yet almost unlimited space, and make apparent some of the merits of aristocracy,

Digitized by Google

without their being compromised by its name, or encumbered by privileges that might be objectionable. Mr. Hamilton, in the "Federalist," c. 78, p. 432, writes that "the standard of good behaviour for the continuance in office of the judicial magistracy, is certainly one of the most valuable of modern improvements in the practice of government," and Chancellor Kent, in his Commentaries says, "the principle (the independence of the judges) which has been the subject of so much deserved eulogy was derived from the English Constitution." M. de Tocqueville says again (vol. i., chap. vi., p. 101), that he "is not aware that any nation on the globe has hitherto organized a judicial power on the principle adopted by the Americans. . . . . That an American judge is invested with unusual political powers, that the Americans have acknowledged the right of the judges to found their decisions on the Constitution rather than on the laws." "In other words they have left them at liberty not to apply such laws as may appear to them to be unconstitutional." At page 105, he proceeds to say, "Whenever a law, which the judge holds to be unconstitutional is argued in a tribunal of the United States, he may refuse to admit it. As a rule, this power is the only one which is peculiar to the American magistrate, but it gives rise to immense political influence." The present system has of course the merit of

Digitized by Google

not interfering with the right of any one citizen to a particular appointment, or to his making an attempt to prove himself as good as his neighbour. Yet, even with the most honestly disposed minds, the anticipated chances of becoming a judge must be unavoidably affected by the preliminary and unsubsiding activities of American electioneering, and would prevent the office from rising to its proper level of dignity, however superior might be the characters of the holders.

My reader may smile when I say that in my poor judgment there was one remnant of bygone times and traditions which was unnecessarily, not to say erroneously, discarded when the United States separated themselves from the parent country. I cannot help thinking that whatever other British livery may have been got rid of, the robes of the English Judges (I say nothing about the wigs) might have been retained with advantage. The judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, at least, in their elevated and isolated position, "having neither force nor will" . . . . "no direction of the strength and wealth of the country," and sitting independently of form and change of government, might have retained the ancient costume of their English predecessors without fear of setting any bad or unconstitutional example by their peculiarity; and would not have been the

Digitized by Google

less respected because they dispensed laws and justice whilst wearing the ermine of Gascoigne and Coke.

The error of the present system of electing state judges for a term of years is acknowledged in the election for life of the Supreme Court. The system seems to have originated in a superfluous and obstinate deference to the spirit of equalization, and is no harmless sacrifice of sound republican principles and acknowledged truth to the pressure of Democratic force. It seems to be an adoption of weakness where a legitimate and regulating strength was most particularly required; an injustice, with the appearance of justice, to Justice herself, and, as such, we may venture to call it a positive imperfection and unsoundness in the constitution of the Model Republic, which should never be copied by any other, and has already made itself felt and must continue to do so until dismissed for ever by necessary reform. It is true the Swiss Judges are also elected for a term of years, but the office is sought rather for position than emolument; the salary, the amount of which has not been changed with the value of money, being insufficient of itself to maintain the judge as "a gentleman." It is not, therefore, sought for by the same needy class, by the same means, and for the same objects, as it is often in the United States, and the arrangement, although intrinsically bad,

Digitized by Google

is prevented from doing all the harm it otherwise probably would do in a country like Switzerland, where the expectations, social and political, from the possessor of eminent wealth, are proportionably and democratically numerous.

When a traveller has discovered a new lake or river, its retention of the appellation which he naturally desires to bestow upon it does not always depend upon his own wishes. The merit and utility of the discovery is not always measured by his own estimate, and corroborative evidence is required before his views are adopted. This cautious method of proceeding does not arise so much from a fear of wilful misrepresentation as from the possibility of inaccuracy or partiality in describing what he looks upon almost as if it were his own. Every visitor to the United States must have observed a full share of patriotic feeling exhibited in praise of their institutions. The accomplished American gentlemen who visit Europe, who are equally patriotic, but more liberalised, and who as authors, orators, travellers, poets, and men of science, are on a par (excepting, perhaps, numerically) with men of any other country, are very different persons, generally speaking, from those who have never crossed the Atlantic. The latter not unfrequently make premature discoveries of completeness and theoretical perfections, not as yet sufficiently tested by circumstanced experience. They are surprised

Digitized by Google

that they are not viewed in the same light by a stranger, who is disposed to refer much of the prosperity of the United States to natural advantages which they so pre-eminently enjoy, and withhold enthusiasm of epithet in favour of a cooler judgment formed from a contemplation of present and probable results. The Americans talk, and justly too, of *our* Shakespeare, *our* Milton, and *our* Newton, as they do of Washington, Franklin, and the other great men of the Independence, and of the wonderful utilitarian advantages of their country. They must, however, always remain under obligation to the Old World for much that the New one can never supply. An American is indebted to it for his Bible and its story: he must refer to Europe and Arabia for the mass of his mathematics and literature, including the very minor and comparatively valueless attractions of the romance history. The Indians have their traditions; but the knight, the princess, the fairy, the enchanted castle, and the pilgrim, the crusader, and the troubadour, are not of the northern half of the New World. The American must ever remain indebted to Greece and Rome for his classics, to Corinth for her capital, to Italy for the study of Praxiteles and Rafaelle, Rome for St. Peter's and the Popes, London for St. Paul's, Britain (at present) for a freer beach than his own, Germany for Luther,

Digitized by Google

Handel, and Mozart, Egypt for the sacred Nile and for her Pyramids, and the Holy Land for the immoveable Calvary of our common faith.

The isolated position of America with reference to influential contact with other countries, is in accordance with the fact, now painfully evident, that she seems destined to work out an experiment for the observation of mankind. It might almost be affirmed that the ill-advised and tyrannical misgovernment which caused her great and successful struggle for independence should now be remembered only to be forgiven as a dispensation of Providence, which conceded to her the opportunity of initiating her greatness. Nevertheless, there are many Americans whose speculative energies and keen intellects find employment at home, or whilst moving about, as whole families sometimes do in search of employment, who are often ready to commence acquaintance with a word or two not favourable to England and English institutions, savouring more of prejudice than of sound information and patience under remarks in antagonism to their own. Objections to the non-education of slaves are met by them, on the *tu quoque* principle, by retort, often certainly containing truth, of the superiority of the mere physical comforts of the slave in comparison with those of the poorer classes in Britain. But they forget the inconsistency of praising the perfection of

Digitized by Google

their institutions, and yet of defending Lynch law, on the principle of tardy administration of justice and retribution by those very institutions, and sometimes attempt to justify filibustering as the natural and legitimate consequence of genuine American impulses in favour of the diffusion of liberty.* They are even severe in

* It has been calculated that dividing the population by the number of Murders, annually, there are four (now, perhaps, five) in England to every million. In Italy it varies from 100 to 200, but in California it amounts to 600 in the million. For the benefit of the advocates of Democracy I subjoin the list of a month's work, and an account of an execution by Lynch law:—

CALIFORNIA HOMICIDE CALENDAR FOR JULY, 1855.

1. Judge Brunton murdered at Yorktown, Tuolumne county, for money.

2. John Flanning hung by Lynch law, near San Antonio, Alameda county, on a charge of arson. The bodies of two Americans, who had been murdered, found near San Francisco Rancho, Los Angeles county.

3. Joseph Turally killed at the forks of the Salmon River by Fred. White.

4. Isaac Wohlgamuth, formerly of Holmes county, Ohio, murdered on the south branch of Salmon River by Peter Crambaugh, who escaped.

5. Thomas Overton killed in a gambling quarrel by Augustus Gray, at Leach's store, on the Frezno.

6. A Chilean shot and killed near New Almaden, by C. M. Weber, while attempting to steal a horse and buggy.

9. Two Indians murdered in Los Angeles, by Indians.

10. Two Chileans killed and two badly wounded in a gamblers' quarrel, at Cave City, in Calaveras county. Geo. Kittering killed at Algerine Camp, Tuolumne county, by Wm. H. Werth.

Digitized by Google

reference to language, and occasionally assert that better English is spoken in the States

13. Three Spaniards got into a fight with each other at Shasta, and one of them mortally wounded. Chas. Cardinell, mortally wounded by Mr. Ingersoll, at Kennebec Hill, Tuolumne county. The latter was acting properly, as an officer of the law, when Cardinell attempted to resist, with a knife in hand, and was shot.

14. George Riddle and Wm. Howe found murdered in Lake Valley. Five Chinamen attacked by Indians, near Gibsonville, and one of the former mortally wounded.

16. Thomas Collins murdered by Wm. Brown, at Placerville.

17. An Indian, who had been murdered, found near San Antonio Creek, in Calaveras county.

18. George Jones killed by Robert W. Pickersgill, in Marysville.

19. C. W. Rheem, Justice of the Peace, died from the effects of a wound received in an affray in his Court Room, on the 8th. Dr. Clark, of Monterey, found dead near Gilroy, and supposed to have been murdered.

20. Three Indians killed in Humboldt county, on the West River. Henry Fahrenholz, shot accidentally and killed in San Francisco by John McEvoy.

21. Salvador and Pedro, Indian boys, convicted at San José of having murdered Luciana Higuera and her children, on the 14th Sept. 1854. The verdict was set aside and the criminals set at large. A Mexican killed while trying to break into a store on Dry Creek. An Indian found murdered in Los Angeles.

22. A Mexican killed at Agua Frio while trying to escape arrest. Wy-Son, shot and killed by Chick-La, another Chinaman, in Auburn. Wm. Hamblin, shot and killed by George R. Davis, at French Bar in Tuolumne county; the deed was done in self-defence.

24. Two Mexicans killed by five of their countrymen in a fight on San Andreas.

Digitized by Google

than in England; whilst perhaps the next moment a stranger is surprised to hear some

25. Indian Jack killed in El Dorado, while attempting to escape an arrest on a charge of having murdered a Chinaman. Three Americans travelling in Bear Valley, Mariposa county, were attacked by Mexican robbers; one was killed, one mortally wounded, and the third escaped. A Mexican, charged with murder, killed near Quartzburg, Mariposa, while resisting an officer about to arrest him. A man found murdered near Volcano. Two Mexican prisoners, attempting to escape from Sheriff Boling, of Mariposa, were killed by him; one with a bullet, the other with a rope swung over the limb of a tree. Boling himself was mortally wounded.

27. A Chinaman killed while trying to break into a store, near Mud Springs. Mr. Harding tried at San José on a charge of having murdered Mr. Hall, and acquitted. A Mexican killed by a Mr. Holmes on the Trinity Mountain in Shasta county. An Indian was killed by Mr. Peters in self-defence on Humbug Bar on the Klamath River Other Indians killed Peters on the spot, and murdered four French miners near the same place that evening.

28. Nine American miners murdered by Indians near Humbug Bar, on the Klamath. These murders brought on an Indian war, wherein thirty Indians and six whites, besides those mentioned, were killed. Five Indians were killed in Yreka —two by Lynch law hanging, and three by powder and ball. Four Mexicans killed by two of their countrymen, at Dry Creek at Calaveras county. James Whiting stabbed and mortally wounded by Henry Small, at Forbestown, El Dorado county; Small gave himself up, and was discharged without examination. Nathaniel Igrigg killed at Columbia, by Reuben Besse. John Petton mortally wounded by a stab given by Vandendoff, in San Francisco.

29. Indian Tom killed by Indian Moquino, near Knight's Ferry, on the San Joaquin. A man found murdered at Scorpion Gulch. A person found murdered at French Bar,

Digitized by Google

educated American talking of having made inquĭry about his oppŏnĕnt at the next election.

on the Tuolumne river. James Freelan, convicted at Auburn of murder, on the 19th, was sentenced to be hanged on the 19th September.

RECAPITULATION.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apl.	May.	June.	July.	Total.
Total Killed.....	35	57	28	32	47	20	103	322
Hung by Sheriff	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
Hung by Mob...	8	—	—	6	8	—	3	25

MURDER AND LYNCHING CASE AT COLUMBIA.

In addition to the numerous interesting letters which appear in the *Chronicle* of Saturday and to-day, regarding the murder of Smith, last week, by Barclay, at Columbia, and the summary execution of the latter by the mob, we give the following extracts on the subject from the *Columbia Gazette*:—

The Trial Scene.—A ring was formed, and Judge Heckendorn took charge of the proceedings. Mr. Coffroth was appointed prosecuting attorney, and John Oxley counsel for the prisoner. . . . .

[A jury was then called and duly sworn. Several witnesses were examined, who testified generally to the facts already narrated in the *Chronicle*. Afterwards, the counsel for the people and for the prisoner addressed the jury.]

Mr. COFFROTH.—Gentlemen: I have but little to remark. The deceased was near and dear to me. You all knew him, and know that he was honest, good, and high-minded. You have all heard the testimony; all know the witnesses; they have lived long among you. The prisoner, I have testified, had a good character, but I am not here to plead his character. The only question to ask is, "Who is the murdered man: who the murderer?" If you are satisfied that the prisoner shot Smith, then it is your duty to declare it, and it is your duty to declare the penalty. You have heard all the testimony; heard all the witnesses. All agree that the murder was roughly done, and

Digitized by Google

An American of this class, however, after he has had his say on the superiority of much in

as I hope, it was done in an unguarded moment. There is a higher Court to ask for mercy. This man should fulfil the divine law, of "an eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth;" "whosoever sheds man's blood, by man's hands shall his blood be shed." (Clapping of hands.) Gentlemen will please avoid any applause for the poor remarks I may offer. Consider the feelings of the prisoner; who can estimate his anguish when he looks back, and now looks to the ignominious death that awaits him? The gentleman then in very eloquent terms concluded his address. Mr. Coffroth was listened to with marked attention, good order prevailing throughout the delivery of his remarks. The prisoner, who had been sitting on the ground with his hands over his face, looked up and asked Mr. Coffroth to request the jury, should they condemn him, to give him a brief period to arrange his little private affairs.

Mr. Oxley then appeared for the prisoner, and said:—I shall be brief. Consider well, gentlemen, what you are about to do; let to-morrow bear favourably upon the acts of this night. (Confusion and much noise; cries of "Enough, enough!") Will you not sustain the laws? Will it not be better that the just laws of our land should take their course? (Cries of "No, no!" "Up with him!" "Damn the laws!" &c. &c.) Let him be confined in the jail; consider your course; consider the great responsibility you are assuming; give time for reflection; let calmness have time to come in. Do not, after you have taken this man's life, find that it is too late to do justice. I do not say that the prisoner is entirely innocent, but that there are many extenuating circumstances. (Cries of "Short, short!" "Enough!") I expect to be short. I ask that the law may take its course; let the prisoner have time, and let a proper investigation be had; let time be granted; let daylight be had for a fair trial. (Cries of "No, no!" "Hang him, hang him!" "Up with him!" &c. &c.)

Judge.—Hear Mr. Oxley. ("Enough, enough!" "Drag

Digitized by Google

the United States, will often be found to be a very good fellow, very original and amusing, and

him up!"—"Damn him!" "Up with him!" "He gave Smith no time!" "He shall not save him!" "Stop, stop!")

Oxley.—I shall not stop; I will do my duty as becomes a man. If the jury tell me to stop, I will; but not otherwise. Act calmly, gentlemen.

Here loud cries stopped the gentleman. Mr. Oxley pleaded earnestly, strongly, and manfully. We shall ever respect John Oxley for his conduct on this occasion. But it was useless; and amidst cries, oaths, and awful expressions, he gave way.

Judge.—Make way; enlarge the ring for the jury to retire and consult. (Much confusion,—"Back, back.") Gentlemen of the jury, the case is now before you. You will make up your decision.

Arrival of the Sheriff.—On reaching the ground the Sheriff dismounted quietly, and went around the outside of the ring, opposite to the side where Heckendorn stood in front of the prisoner, and reaching out, took hold of Barclay, demanding him in the name of the Law and for the Law. Some one immediately seized the Sheriff by the throat, while others rudely laid hold of him and threw him back. At this juncture, the crowd rushed in, crying "The Sheriff! The Sheriff!" Barclay was borne one way and the Sheriff hurried the other. The officer demanded to be released; to be supported in the discharge of his duty; but all without effect. After a few moments he was released, and at once pushed for the prisoner, who was then under the water-flume, and the rope about him. The officer called for a knife, and some one handed him a penknife, with which he endeavoured to cut the rope, when some fiend struck him a severe blow on the back of his head with the butt of a pistol. Another seized him by the throat, while a third struck him in the mouth. His clothes were badly torn, his arms taken from him, and altogether he was much brutalized. A wretch, more fiendish than the rest, drew

Digitized by Google

a gentleman withal (were it not for a perhaps too frequent and excessive use of tobacco), glad

a bowie knife on him, and was only prevented from stabbing him by the courage of Mr. John Hickey, who, at the risk of his own hands, seized the blade.

The Hanging Scene.—The unfortunate Barclay was haltered by a rope lowered from the flume, and those above hauled away upon it; and as he went up, a savage yell from the infuriated multitude rent the air, while here and there good men shook their heads, and mourned that such things could be. No precautions had been taken to pinion the victim, and he seized hold of the rope above his head, and held on to it with a grasp of desperation. Those above raised him up suddenly, and jerked him down, several times, but still the grasp of desperation held good. One of the executioners looked over the flume, and cried out "*Let go, you d—d fool, let go.*" Finally, his strength gave out; one hand fell, and then the other; drawing up his legs, he gave a few convulsive movements, and then hung straight: all was over; body and soul had parted. The spectacle was truly horrifying; a human form hanging by the neck, thirty or forty feet above the ground; a vast throng of men, shouting, yelling, and jumping; while the red and lurid glare of torches and bonfires sent a horrid flash upon the terrible scene.

Last Act of the Tragedy.—Soon the sight of the hanging man lost its interest, and the shout went up, "*Let's down to Martha's and rip the house down.*" "*Down with it!—hurrah, boys, let's go!*" and away went a number in hot haste, while the mass leisurely turned their way from the ground and entered town. Arrived at Martha's, much noise was made, many oaths indulged in, and the more bold of the mob stove in the large lantern in front of the house, and demolished the glass windows. This same scene, as far as threats were concerned, was enacted at Pike's; and finally at one of the "China Houses." And then one by one the satisfied mass went away. By midnight all was quiet. The victim was cut down, brought into town, and an inquest held by Judge Miller, of Shaw's Flat.

Digitized by Google

and ready to offer any attention and hospitality in his power, and very frequently ending his remarks by a display of liberality of opinion in agreeable and flattering contrast with his previously expressed ideas.

In a volume of the *North American Review* (No. 72, July, 1831) there is a very carefully and ably written article on "The Prospect of Reform in Europe," published immediately after the revolution which placed Louis Phillipe on the throne of France, and it is at this time interesting, and in some respects important, to examine its prophetic language by the light of experience.

"Europe," says the Reviewer, "seems to be on the eve of a general war. . . . . England in the process of a fundamental change in her Constitution (alluding to the Reform Bill). . . . . This tremendous war, if not actually begun, would seem very near at hand. . . . . The stronghold of the aristocratic system, with all those not immediately interested in it, is the reverence of antiquity. . . . . We will assume that the assembled people would provide for the choice of the man whom the majority should think best qualified as chief magistrate, and that they would furnish this executive officer with all the requisite means to enable him to discharge his functions. . . . . We therefore regard hereditary monarchy as a part of the system which is founded in abuse. . . . . We

Digitized by Google

regard an hereditary House of Lords as part of the aristocratic system founded on the most flagrant abuse. . . . . By the same test of principle we should arrive at the same conclusion in respect to an Established Church, the law of primogeniture. . . . . All good government consequently resolves itself into an equal representative system. . . . The question of Reform seems likely to be agitated on fields of battle. . . . . Now the palace which bids fairest to be thronged is Holyrood House . . . . . In the course of the impending struggle, dynasties will very likely be set up, and expelled kings voted in and out, republics proclaimed and crushed. Governments will dissolve into anarchies, anarchies ripen or rot into military despotisms, and these vicissitudes may fill up generations. Nor can we disguise the opinion that those States are in danger of the greatest changes which are organized on a mixed principle. . . . The two simplest Governments are greatly the safest, and least likely to be affected by the convulsions of the times—Russia and the United States. . . . . On the other hand, we consider the state of England as highly critical. . . . . Mr. Canning denies expressly that the House of Commons is intended to represent the will of the people, and admits, if it were so intended, it would root out the other branches of the Government. Tacitus has been

Digitized by Google

appealed to in favour of the abstract superiority of a mixed form of government. Sir Robert Peel quotes him for this purpose in a debate on the pending plan of Reform. . . . . But Tacitus says it would be hard to organize, and of transient duration." Speaking of France, the Reviewer says, "the people who through their Deputies have chosen Louis Philippe, will, no doubt, choose his successors, and will probably choose him for a limited time. . . . . In a word, are not an hereditary crown and nobility absurdities in theory too great to stand the test of popular opinion in France. . . . . Is it possible to put the hereditary right to the crown into a form of words in which it will command the assent of a people like the French?

"Nor do we think the state of things is widely different in England. The temperament of the English is less mercurial than that of the French, but the popular feeling is not less intense. Were the division of property more equal in the present day, so that a larger number could be interested in preserving the public peace, the monarchy might pass into an elective government without a convulsion. The change might be effected by a strenuous parliamentary contest. . . . . And does any one suppose that the present plan of parliamentary reform will prevail, if it do prevail, on any other principle than that of a fear of the physical power of

Digitized by Google

the people? Taught by these concessions how powerful they are, will the people be more or less loyal to the antiquated party of the Constitution?" . . . . After some remarks on the "Rule of Three" system of representation, the Reviewer adds, "But it is by no means the most momentous consequence of the new plan of British representation that it must infallibly lead to radical reform and a geographical representation in the House of Commons. . . . . How will it affect the other institutions of the monarchy, the House of Lords, the Established Church, and the Hereditary Crown? On what foundation do all these rest? Is there any other than tradition and prescription? . . . .

"We are not now arguing against a House of Lords; to moot that question in this country would be like reviving the Ptolemaic system; but we are maintaining that the reasons for disfranchising Old Sarum go the whole length of disfranchising the House of Lords. . . . . But is the majority of the people of England, numerically taken, friendly to an hereditary house of legislation? Is the Peerage popular with the Radicals? . . . . And if such be the prospects of the Peerage, how will it fare with the Crown and the Church? . . . .

"General and theoretic remedies are inadmissible; for, theoretically, the whole monarchy is an abuse. . . . .

Digitized by Google

"The new Constitution will of course rest on a totally new principle, viz., that no institution shall be allowed to continue in England that is manifestly unreasonable in itself, however ancient the principle on which it is founded. Can such a principle stop at the present measure of reform? It is impossible. It will stop at nothing in the House of Commons but an equal geographical representation of the kingdom by districts; and when that is attained it will stop,—let the man who can, say where!

"In the course of forty years of tremendous revolutions and fearful vicissitudes, France has reached a system greatly exceeding the English in its popular character, and is verging toward one more completely popular. A great multiplication of small freeholders, consequent upon the breaking up of the landed estates, has shaken the French aristocracy to its foundation, and the extension of the right of suffrage will again put the continued existence of the Peerage, recent at best as at present constituted, to the question, to be decided by the representatives of the mass of the people. How will that question be decided? Does any man doubt?

"The prosperity of this country (the United States), under its popular representation, will prove an argument for radical reform in England which nothing can refute. . . . . But we have exhibited it (the popular system) to the

Digitized by Google

world a noon-day reality, a living, healthy, and powerful agent. . . . . We should not be surprised if a very few years witnessed an organized republican government in France and in England. . . . . Compare Americans and Englishmen together. Do not the same principles of natural justice, the same notions of equity prevail between man and man? Is the duty a man owes to his neighbour very differently understood in the two countries? Are not the domestic relations on a footing substantially the same? . . . . Five thousand votes are frequently taken in one day at Boston, and a few years ago in one hall; but a popular tumult going to the length of a bloody nose we do not remember to have heard of in the most angry party times. In the more newly settled parts of the country, the elections are occasionally more tumultuous. . . . .

"The Catholic Emancipation affected more persons, agreeably or disagreeably, than would be affected either way immediately by making the King of England eligible every seven years. A declaration of war shakes the ground of society more, we think, than it would be shaken by quietly substituting an elective senate for an hereditary House of Lords. . . . . There is not so much tenacity of national habits as is supposed. . . . . The monarchy is a thousand years old. . . . . Make the superior excellence

Digitized by Google

of popular institutions the prevailing opinion of the day, enlist the newspapers in its support, and get the popular speakers to take it, and you will soon see what the habit of a thousand years is worth. . . . . As for equality of fortune, one generation is long enough to introduce as perfect an equality in Europe as in America, and this without violence, confiscation, or even personal hardship, for there is surely no hardship in passing a law that, when a man dies, if he do not dispose of his property by will, his children shall divide it; and if he do dispose of it, it will only be for one generation. . . . . Seeing the American people choosing their chief magistrate every four years, they will not trust to the chance of birth the designation of a chief magistrate for life; when they see us calling from the mass of the community the citizen whom we may deem the most worthy and best qualified to administer the State, they will not allow this momentous trust to pass by inheritance; when they see us at the end of four years quietly displacing the chief magistrate who has disappointed public expectation, they will not submit to the alternation of a life of misgovernment or a bloody revolution. They will have an election system, or at any rate they will try for it. . . . . Thirty thousand men armed with bayonets watch over the tranquillity of Ireland. . . . . It has been remarked, that, without the Horse Guards,

Digitized by Google

London would be uninhabitable. . . . . The English army . . . might probably be depended on in a foreign war as implicitly as a Russian or an Austrian army. . . . . It has never yet swerved from its fidelity. . . . . We cannot doubt that the opinion is widely prevalent in England that it would not have been safe much longer to oppose these measures [Reform and the Catholic Emancipation]—in other words, that the army could not be trusted to support the Government. In this state of things, what is to prevent the people of England from meeting with their delegates in convention to devise a general reform of the constitution? . . . . We might almost say it is the general belief in England that a radical change is impending in the constitution of the country. . . . .

"Of this measure [Reform] the Duke of Wellington, as the head of the last Administration, has lately declared in the House of Lords, from the lights of an experience of forty-five years in the public service, that it will be fatal to the constitution of the country; while Lord Grey, the responsible author of the proposed plan, offers it as the least that would satisfy the public demand, and as a measure that would content the people for a long time. It seems to us that these are but two forms of expressing one and the same prevailing undefined and alarming idea, that the present constitution of England cannot

Digitized by Google

last. . . . . We have already remarked that we see no intrinsic difficulty in the adoption by England and the other countries in Europe of a constitution like ours, and we believe it will take place. . . . . We can in no way so much accelerate the political emancipation of the Old World as by showing mankind that liberty is a spirit of justice, law, morality, and intellectual improvement. At present the word *revolution* is a word of dread, made so by the Reign of Terror in France; the abhorrence of mankind. Let us show to the world that blood is not the natural cement of liberal institutions, that the arts of society flourish under their influence, and that man is not the worst enemy of his neighbour or himself."

It will be better to let my readers judge of these fond forebodings for themselves. It is impossible to doubt the sincerity of the opinions expressed in them, as being only consistent with the evidently patriotic belief of the writer in the superiority of the institutions of the United States, and the probability of what he honestly thought to be a much-to-be-desired imitation of them in England. These remarks are worthy of all notice, as expressive of purely public opinion at the time, and because events have shown that opinion to be erroneous; but there is nothing captious in remarking that the subject of *slavery* is never referred to in them. And it is impossible to avoid a conclusion that the prospective mind

Digitized by Google

which is evidenced in the language I have quoted was inert alike with reference to its view of slavery as a then present and political evil, and to calculation on the future and the fearful importance which the question has since assumed.

The article displays an insufficient knowledge of the honourable respect given to mere antiquity, which is sometimes the very morality of error and prejudice; and which, as it cannot be created, so it cannot be destroyed on a sudden. "Y-a-t-il de plus respectable qu'un ancien abus? La raison est plus ancienne," repondit Zadig.*

Its writer did not thoroughly understand that the story of a thousand years, gemmed and chequered with great events, commands a homage that is superior to that exacted by a mere delusion, and is not favourable to experimental legislation or the hasty application of reform. But a very few years after the publication of the above article Mr. Daniel Webster gave it as his opinion, at a private breakfast-table in London, that the Union would some day be divided; but I am unacquainted with his reasons, and do not know whether he was alluding to any particular period.

It is scarcely possible when speaking of America to avoid remembering her suffrage and election by ballot. If any one were asked what mode of voting would, in some cases, be the best to guard against the effects of undue influence and

* "Zadig," chap. ix.

Digitized by Google

intimidation, he would, it may be supposed, name the vote by secret ballot; and if again questioned as to the mode of voting which more than any other would be likely, in some cases, to encourage and shelter not only bribery but every fradulent proceeding that could possibly be connected with electioneering, he would, I presume, give no other than the same reply. Vote by secret ballot seems necessarily to include these two extremes. The ballot seems to be only an accessory or necessary consequence of universal suffrage, carrying out the intention of leaving the voter as free as possible. It has been tried in America and has failed. "Our experience has shown that in the excitement of great popular elections, deciding the policy of the country and its vast patronage, frauds will be committed if a chance be given.

"About the year 1851 the public mind was much stirred by a movement for a secret ballot, with a view to prevent the effect of undue influence of political organizations . . . . and of the great manufacturing establishments corporate and incorporate. Committees of inquiry were appointed, and reported rather a serious state of inquisition and intimidation in many quarters. But the secret ballot met with much opposition: it was thought better to leave a few timid voters unprotected than to lower the tone of a whole people . . . . and it was predicted that secrecy would be impossible, even if desirable . . . .

Digitized by Google

Sealed envelopes . . . were tried . . . The law in favour of the secret ballot was passed in 1851, and amended in 1852. In 1853 the open or secret ballot was left optional to the use of the voter, and it died a natural death. It was found eventually that the ballot can be sufficiently guarded against *fraud*, but in securing this result it was deprived of the element of *secrecy*. The attempt to introduce a mode of ballot which shall be at once secret, secure against fraud, and reasonably convenient has so far failed, and the secret ballot has been abandoned, and the open ballot fallen back upon again. *Vivâ-voce* voting as in England would be almost impossible in America, on account of the multiplicity and complexity of our popular elections . . . . The ballot is rapid, convenient, and quiet; and though the *vivâ-voce* voting would be less liable to fraud, there is a feeling that while the open ballot is not a protection against scrutiny, yet undue influence has freer scope, and the dependent and timid voter is somewhat more in danger where he is obliged to declare his vote aloud."*

The real question is, however, that of the too general suffrage. It has accumulated a deep flood-wave that has broken through an insufficient restraining embankment. It has been as the terrible fire on the prairies, to which no

* *Vide* Mr. Dana's masterly letter to Lord Radstock, on the ballot in Massachusetts, in the *Times*, June 27th, 1860.

Digitized by Google

direction has been given. To its influence may be traced the non-seeking of office by the best men in America; and whatever its merits in the eyes of its admirers, it has shown itself incapable of exciting a sane and sufficient reflection in a people, brave and intellectual as any upon earth, as to the ultimate results of the struggle by which the country is so unhappily convulsed. The state of society, too, should not be without its influence when the adoption of the ballot in England is under consideration. We have a morbid state of equality. We have spy systems at work (deriving a cowardly aid from photography and roomy coat sleeves) other than that of the police, (which is necessary),—other than that of the Jesuits, who of course are, as usual, exerting themselves. And, of late years, some of our leading writers, who would play Ithuriel though lacking his divinity, have judged it best to take the initiative in a manner more imitable than exemplary; and their readers are occasionally surprised by the pantaloonic appearance of a word or two, a name, or an engraving, designedly, and in some cases mephistophiletically, enveloped in pretentious and most wholesome satire, but intended to startle by having no meaning in common with the context. Imagine the honest genius of Walter Scott condescending to such literary antics! It would not seem to be desirable upon principle to legalize

Digitized by Google

further means of concealment, when scheming of every description is carried on constantly by means of the electric wires and the advertising columns of our newspapers; and it is a question whether it would not be better for the liberty of the subject if editors were legally compelled to obtain a responsible possession of the names, &c., of the inserters—a law which would in no respect interfere with the real liberty of the press, but impose a necessary restraint favourable to the preservation of its right honourable but somewhat tarnished name.

Within the last seventy years, says the *Gazette de France*, France has seen thirteen Governments, each differing from the others in origin and aim, beginning with Louis XVI. and the Assemblies, May 5, 1789, up to the Plebiscitum of January 21 and 22, 1852.

England has ascended from the enormities of the feudal system to her present well-balanced position; and we have lately seen a Reform Bill discussed and defended with an indifference to it akin to a belief that it is not so much wanted after all. America has ascended towards us and with us in some respects, and an aristocracy of wealth has arisen as it were from the ranks, without any assigned position for its power and influence, and it may be used alike for public good and charitable purposes or questionable

Digitized by Google

employment, such as filibustering, in time of peace. Public opinion, at all events, forbids, as is well known, what would be termed an aristocratic use of it. No man, for instance, whatever may be his wealth, thinks of building what would be called a fine place, to be certainly sold for an hotel or an hospital after his decease.

In conjunction with diminished chances of repudiation—a contingency that seems inseparable from an elective government—England has enjoyed a diminished immunity from those periodical and political contests which seem, on the contrary, to have convulsed the United States the more violently as they have grown older. We cannot avoid observing that their constitution, in framing which its great founders evinced such a conscientious anxiety to do justice to the many, has of late years shown itself unable to secure a due amount of justice and reflection in return. Not having adopted the best means, it may now be concluded, as a practical result of such an error, that whether it be called a democracy, or by the more aristocratic name of a republic, the most dignified, the best and most desirable mode of administering justice, which is and ought to be the cherished and ultimate object of all government, is not a possibility attainable in an elective constitution existing like that of the United States.

Digitized by Google

FROM NEW YORK BY SEA TO RIO JANEIRO.

I had used every endeavour to secure a passage to Rio Janeiro on board the ill-fated *San Francisco*. The most southerly waves of the storm in which she foundered overtook the small steamer of whose departure to ply in Californian waters I was unexpectedly informed, and in which I immediately and providentially embarked, having heard of the probably very crowded state of the *San Francisco*. The weather permitted us to run closely along the coast. Near Pernambuco we saw vast groves of cocoa-nut trees seemingly extended to the water's edge, and the ships of the Brazilian squadron at anchor before its long line of white buildings, in picturesque contrast with the blue of the receding mountain ranges in the interior. Numerous "catamarans" crossed our course, usually with two occupants, probably slaves sent out to catch fish for their masters. The catamarans, formed of two solid canoe-shaped logs, flattened on the inner sides facing each other, and fastened so as to be one mass, with an intervening space, are driven by means of a small sail with great rapidity; and as they cannot sink, one is tempted to ask why a life-raft, on which people would be secure from sharks, should not be

Digitized by Google

formed on the same principle, and stowed away in pieces on shipboard. One day a very suspicious-looking clipper passed across us, crowding all sail, in the direction of Cuba: she was supposed to be a slaver. The odour from such a craft may be detected at the distance of half a mile, if the wind be right. A voyage of twenty-three days brought us in sight of Cape Frio, and after passing the cliff, against which, in a thick fog, the *Thetis* ran her bowsprit, we entered the harbour of Rio, with the Pan de Azucar (1,270 feet high) towering on the larboard bow, and here I quitted my merry companions on board the *America*.

Anyone proceeding from Buenos Ayres to Europe, never having seen a mountain, touching at Rio on the way, may assure himself that he will see no bay scenery finer than that which he is contemplating at the very commencement of his travels. Taken altogether, it may be pronounced finer than the Bay of Naples, having also the great advantage of tropical vegetation. It has no Vesuvius, but the curious sierra of the Organ Mountains, some 5,000 to 6,000 feet in height, are ranged in the rear of its beautifully islanded expanse of more than twenty miles in extent. The city, however, is, of course, much inferior to Naples in point of architecture; and beautiful as the country is around the bay, still it is not "Italy." The

Digitized by Google

streets are narrow, crowded, and generally filthy. In that which is the least so is the dining-room at Messrs. Naylor and Co.'s, where every British officer who has visited Rio for the last sixty years has enjoyed their hospitality. A walk or ride amongst the convent-crowned eminences in the city, or to the summit of the Corcorado (2,340 feet), will be amply repaid by the beauty of the scenery. The imperial palace of St. Christopher, in no way remarkable as a building, is situated on an eminence terminating precipitously at the northern edge of the city. A harpy eagle, with his fine crest and terrible talons, was domesticated in the garden. The museum contains a very well arranged collection of minerals. The fish-market is well worth a visit, every fish being different from those in European seas. There is a large Opera-house, but the avenue of African palms in the Botanical Gardens is perhaps better worth seeing than anything in Rio. The first discoverers of the harbour imagined that it must be the debouchure of a great river, and the indicative name is still retained. If a child dies unbaptized, the fact is inserted in the public prints, with the addition of the word "Innocente," and also of "Fluminease,"—*i.e.*, born on the banks of the river.

At Rio it is very difficult to loosen the hold of any epidemic—cholera, yellow fever, &c.—on account of the great want of a breezy air, not

Digitized by Google

only in the city, but at Catete and Botafogo, where, southward of the city, are situated the great Hospital of Pedro II., the principal hotels and suburban residences, and amongst them that containing the hospitable saloons of the British Embassy. On the beach beyond the hospital is the wall or fortification, about 500 yards in length, known as "Pruia Vermelho," or "the Red Beach," from the colour of the sand, and mounting some forty old guns. The village of Tejuca, in the mountains north of the city, has lately been much resorted to, and I enjoyed a ramble to its waterfalls, and a cool night's rest at its clean and comfortable hotel.

Steamers ply between the city and the railway from the head of the harbour, and pass between its picturesque islands of gneiss granite, to the beach at the foot of the Organ Mountains, whence begins the road leading up to Petropolis. I preferred, however, first ascending to Constancia—a stream running by the side of the road. Having slept at Barrancas, I enjoyed a capital breakfast at the residence of Mr. H——, near which the streets of a new town had been marked out, of whose future prosperity, on account of its situation on the cool tableland, I feel well assured. The small river there is the Pacquequer, which joins the ocean north of Cape Frio. The road is continued into the interior of the province of Minas

Digitized by Google

Geraes, but we suddenly entered a scarcely perceptible bridle pathway in the forest to the right, and in a very few miles we came in sight of a large open verdant space of singular beauty, its upper end resting against two mountain peaks, with scarped and nearly perpendicular sides, and in the midst of which was a good house, with detached residences and farm buildings, all painted white and black, in the occupation of Mr. H——, an English gentleman, who keeps an excellent table and bedrooms for any one properly introduced to him. A deep water-trench has been cut near it, to prevent the incursions of ants, but their ingenuity in passing by means of straws or any natural raft was quite marvellous. The rainy season lasts from the middle of December to the middle of March. Antas or tapirs, capibaras, pacos, deer, and different feline animals and anteaters are among the common animals, and a sufficient number of coral and other poisonous snakes are found in the surrounding forests, in which also are the jacarenda or rosewood-tree, the jamelliero—so called from jamella, a bowl, which is made from it,—the peroba, and numerous others, massed with the old man's-beard moss, thicketed with ferns, and festooned with innumerable creepers. The Imbeyuba or trumpet-tree is very conspicuous by the silvery underside of its leaf; its soft wood is excellent for making gunpowder-

Digitized by Google

charcoal, and the sloth has a predilection for climbing amongst its branches.

A ride thence through the mountains to Petropolis occupies the day: a good road winds amongst the curiously formed and bare conical peaks that rear their dark, shining, oxidised, and precipitous surfaces above the primeval forest around them. Marble is found in some parts of the Organ Mountains (Sierra dos Orgaos). In crossing a bridge within a mile or two of Petropolis, I saw a gentleman in a shooting-jacket throwing a fly, and immediately asked in English what sport he had had. Having dismounted, he allowed me to take a throw or two, and I soon rose and hooked a small fish, which I added to his already well-filled basket. It was Mr. F——, the entomologist, who had, I understood, performed the daring feat of clambering to the top of the Pan de Azucar. The number and variety of insects he had collected was quite astonishing.

The residence of the Emperor at Petropolis is plain, but palatial in appearance, standing in the centre of an open space, around which the new city is building. His Majesty, who is very fair, and of gentlemanly appearance, may be often seen on horseback, or walking arm in arm with the Empress, a younger sister of Queen Christina, and attended by the princesses his daughters, after having transacted business in the morning

Digitized by Google

with his ministers, whom I have seen when taking refreshment with them in the public room of one of the hotels. The thermometer stood at 78° Faht., whilst at Rio it stood at 90° in the shade in the month of February. There is also a German colony in the vicinity of Petropolis, in a very pretty valley. The people seemed happy, but there was a great want of comfort and cleanliness. I observed what I at first thought was a snake on the road; then I took it for a slow-worm: but it was one of the gigantic earthworms, more than two feet in length. Of course they may exist in innumerable intervening localities, but I never saw another until two years afterwards, when I observed several at about double the height above the sea in one part only of the road, between Bogota and the salt mines at Zepaquira, in New Granada, on the other side of the continent. It may some day be determined how far accident and the nature of the soil may influence their existence so far apart; and, although so much against appearances, who would venture to assert that they were not originally produced from one pair, because our comprehension of time is insufficient?

Pedro II. (born December 11th, 1825) was called to the throne of the Brazils after the abdication of his father Pedro I., in 1831, with the prospect of a long minority, under a regency of which Fejo was the head. It was this minister

Digitized by Google

who proposed to the Pope, but unsuccessfully, that the clergy in the Brazils should be allowed to marry. The subject of the young Emperor's minority being under discussion in the Chambers, Navarro, an enthusiastic deputy from the distant province of Matto Grosso, suddenly sprang to his feet, and exclaimed, "Viva la maoridad da sua Majestad da Emperador!" The appeal was effective; it was soon known to the mob outside, who threw up their hats and cheered to show their acquiescence. The deputies at once repaired in a body to the palace (an example which might be imitated in Greece). "Will your Majesty join us?" "Lo quiero!" ("I wish to do so!") was his answer; and his minority ceased forthwith; and on the following day (July 20, 1840) he came to the Senate and assumed the reins of government, — the two words he had uttered becoming afterwards a motto in use in the subsequent revolutionary movements, commencing in 1842, in the province of St. Paul.*

* The Brazils were harassed by civil disturbances from the year 1825 to 1835, in which latter year Para on the Amazons was sacked by the Indians; and in 1838 Bahia was occupied by a rebel force, but the Imperial troops took it from them by storm. In 1842 a formidable outbreak for independence began at Ypiranga, not far from the city of St. Paul: another broke out in Minas Geraes at about the same time, another at Pernambuco, and another at Rio Grande. But these are matters of merely local interest. And as a result of numerous struggles, it may be remarked that the Government of the

Digitized by Google

Having been advised strongly to visit the province of Sao Paolo, in order to see something of the cultivation of the interior, I proceeded in the steamer to Santos, 200 miles from Rio. Soon after leaving the harbour of Rio we passed under the scarped slopes of the Soria Mountains, with coffee plantations upon them, rising to a height of about 2,500 feet, and permitting a view of Tejuca in the gorge, apparently about three miles distant. I also noticed in the vicinity a wall of rock, which appeared to have been bored through by the sea and made more remarkable by the quantity of stiff herbage upon it, which had the extraordinary appearance of having been combed upwards. Some of the islands which we passed on the way were similarly and singularly clothed, on account of the uplifting wave being more solid and powerful than when retiring in divided masses.

Berthaga, about ten miles from Santos, was a favourite place for landing slaves; and large fortunes were made by the parties interested.

Brazils is, as M. de Castelnau has observed, far in advance of the people, and that the credit of the country stands higher than that of any other State south of the United States, with the exception, perhaps, of Chili. The territory presided over by the Emperor of the Brazils is divided into twenty provinces, comprising altogether an extent of 147,624 square geographical miles. Out of fifty-eight senators the province of Minas Geraes sends ten, and its capital, Ouro Preto, returns also the largest number of deputados out of one hundred and eighteen, which is the aggregate number.

Digitized by Google

Santos itself stands at the foot of a deep and lake-like harbour, with a very picturesque appearance. The thermometer at mid-day (February, 1854) stood at 85° in the shade. There was nothing remarkable about the appearance of the town of Santos excepting the constant arrival and departure of laden and unladen mules, amounting to about a thousand in the course of the day. A good road leads directly through the wooded and tided marsh, which swarms with crabs, seen at low water among the roots of the trees; and the ascent by it is continued to the tableland of the province of Sao Paolo, and winds through some rich forest scenery on the slopes to the summit, whence is obtained an extensive sea-view over a delta of meadow and morass, with the hills forming the harbour of Santos as a foreground. Breakfasted at Zanzala, less than halfway to the city of San Paulo, the whole distance being about eleven leagues, a Brazilian league being nearly four English miles. The landlord, I remember, particularly pressed upon me the excellence of a combination of cheese and sweetmeat eaten together, and prided himself on having, as he thought, persuaded the British admiral and some of his officers that he was right. The approach to the capital itself is through an open undulating country, a great proportion of which is under cultivation for maize, corn, vegetables, &c. Rio

Digitized by Google

is in a great measure dependent on importation for a supply of wheat. The general aspect of the country, with the exception of the vegetation near the road, is much the same as that of a farming district in Europe, although evidently exhibiting an inferior system of agriculture. A train of mules carrying coffee, sugar, maize, &c., to Santos, was almost incessant, and many thousands of them daily enter and depart from the city. The Paraguay tea, or *maté*, is cultivated, and not less than 100,000 lb. are brought down to Santos annually. The largest buildings are, as usual, the convents and barracks; there is also a small and comfortable theatre; and my evenings passed very agreeably as the guest of an hospitable English merchant, Mr. F——, and his family, whose drawing-room at tea-time was usually resorted to by the few English and two or three of the other Europeans in the place. Amongst them was a German naturalist, Dr. R——, who had persevered in the formation of a raised map of a great part of the provinces, originally, if I mistake not, by order of the Government, and was also occupied in forming a large collection of specimens of natural history. He considered that he knew not less than a dozen species of native feline animals from the jaguar downwards. He had visited the Great Fall on the Parana (the Salto Grande in Sir W. Parish's work, p. 230), where the whole volume

Digitized by Google

of its waters is suddenly contracted to a width of sixty yards, and falls in a cataract of about as many feet in height, dashing down with such a thundering noise that it is said to be heard at a distance of five or six leagues, and for about 100 miles afterwards the river is one succession of falls and rapids as far as the junction of the Curitiba. The noise is such that the Indians cannot fish in the pools. Dr. R—— told me I should first reach the Parana by descending the Curitiba, and then ascending to the Great Fall under the guidance of Indians; that on the ascent about ten leagues from the fall I should pass the remains of an old Jesuits' village, and that a tribe of Indians—the Correados—still use the tonsure in imitation of them. They prepare a cooling drink called goyara.

The ruined villages and remains of the Jesuits' missions and establishments are very numerous in Corrientes. Sir W. Parish says there were 100,000 persons under their control at the time they were expelled in 1767. They paired off the young Indian men and women as they pleased, whether they cared for each other or not; and in Parish Robertson's work on Buenos Ayres there is a curious note in Latin on the method adopted to counteract the results of indifference.

At Corrientes, where the Paraguay is joined by the Parana, there is an eddy in which an English gentleman told me he was detained three

Digitized by Google

days by the sailors, who wished to stay over Good Friday: they counteracted the captain's orders by throwing out warps, &c., just within, instead of outside, its influence.

Don Paulino da Souza, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, had done me the honour of giving me an introduction to the governors in the interior, in case I had wished to persevere in the idea I had entertained of visiting the Paraguay from St. Paul, but the heat and musquitoes made me alter my intention, and I prepared only for a visit to Yricaba, a large settlement and coffee plantation in the interior.

Ypiranga, not far from the city of St. Paul, claims the honour of having first raised a cry for independence—"o primero grito da independencia;" and the families of the Vergueiras, the Tobias, and the Andrades, some of whom were afterwards in the Ministry, were considered to be the fathers of the movement.

I slept at Zundiaz, about ten leagues from St. Paul, and pushed forward to Campinas, eight leagues further, enjoying the hospitality of a family whose name I much regret to have forgotten. A church of cedar was in course of construction by workmen sent expressly from Bahia. Ybicaba lies to the north-west of Campinas, about forty miles distant. I passed the long wooden bridge over the Jaguari river, a deep, dark, and rapid stream, about eighty yards in width, whose waters,

Digitized by Google

fringed with trees and bamboo thickets, after joining the Tieté, are poured into the Parana. The fish known as the Dorado, on account of its brilliant red and gold colour, is common in it.

The road continued, with little or no variety in the scenery, through a nearly flat country, and then entered the forest, abounding with trees of vast size, such as the peroba, a red wood used in building, and the still larger and more conspicuous jaquitiba, with its bare straight stem. There were also the jacarenda, or rosewood, and others; and amongst them wound the bela, a parasite of which ropes of great strength and lasting quality are made. The vecuco, or snake-poison antidote, which I believe is the same as the guaco, is also common. I was informed that the root of the bananá sliced or bruised afforded relief in case of a snake-bite, if applied at once. I listened with interest to the simple, loud, and bell-like note of the bell-bird, which I was never able to discover, though the sound seemed to be near, or far, or in advance, or behind me, as if the bird were a ventriloquist; and I believe this peculiarity has been generally acknowledged. For two nights I had to ride for hours in a very hard rain, my mule distinguishing the track better than I could. At last I was glad to hear the voice of the guide with the baggage-mules, who had overtaken me; and after a most annoying journey, we suddenly turned through a gateway

Digitized by Google

of a fence in the forest on the left, and I found myself in a large open park-like space. Another mile or so brought me to the sheltering roofs of Ybicaba, where I was kindly welcomed by Señor Vergueira, to whom I had an introduction. His father, a very distinguished, fine-looking, and intelligent old gentleman, was a senator of the Brazils. Ybicaba is a large coffee plantation and settlement in the "Districho da Limeira, provincia da Sao Paolo." To the south-west of it is St. George, a coffee plantation and residence of an English gentleman, Mr. Whittaker; and west by north, in an opposite direction to Campinas, is a settlement called Angelica, distant about fifteen leagues in the Serra.

The Fazenda (Hacienda in Spanish) is a range of buildings in a line, about 400 yards long, in which was the dwelling-house, a chapel, the different workshops of the establishment, and the storehouse and floors for drying coffee, and the farm buildings, stables, &c., &c. Behind it was a garden and enclosed paddock, and to the right, where the ground sloped, with a southern aspect, were the extensive coffee plantations and the cottages of the settlers. Some of them were pretty, and all had an air of comfort and contentment. In most of them were numerous silkworms, to the increase of which Señor Vergueira was giving attention and encouragement. One old man from the provinces near the Rhine

Digitized by Google

had served under Napoleon, and was of course full of anecdotes. Señor Vergueira preferred the Swiss as settlers, and hoped to be able to induce more to come. In the Brazils also, I may here remark, the immigration of "Ilheos" (islanders) from Madeira and Funchal is encouraged. They are imported, as it were, upon a speculation entered into by the owners of the ships and captains, and are usually apprenticed as labourers for three, four, and five years, the captain receiving a bonus for his trouble, risk, &c. A few huge trees were scattered over the park-like plain, which was surrounded by forest. A tree called angarada was in flower, of a beautiful yellow, near the house. Coffee is picked in the winter season; about 500,000 arrobas (25 lb. each) are annually produced in the Brazils, of which Great Britain takes a large proportion. Certainly the coffee-leaf is deservedly introduced into the national arms of the Brazils. I was informed that a Brazilian with 500 negroes is able only to cultivate about one square league. An acre of uncleared ground is worth about £1 at Ybicaba, and in some more distant places it may be bought for about a dollar: a square league uncleared would cost about 2,000 dollars.

Lead, copper, and iron are found in the neighbourhood of Ybicaba, the latter in micaceous schist and hœmatites; and the red colour of the earth is owing to its presence. Coal also is found

Digitized by Google

at St. Augustine. The more open plains to the westward commence at Suricaba, about six days' march from Ybicaba, and near it is an iron mine at Ipanema. Suricaba is famous for its fairs, where many thousands of mules are for sale: a good one is sold for 20 to 30 dollars. They are bred in the country watered by the Rio Grande, and are driven to Bahia and the country to the north. Señor Vergueira has issued a printed prospectus of the terms on which he will receive immigrants, and the articles to be signed by both parties, he obligingly gave me a copy of them.

The few Indians to be seen in this part of the country are generally known as being of the great tribe of the Guaranis. An English gentleman at Rio told me of an Indian of the Tomayani tribe who had been educated in that city, and now more than eighty years old, an excellent linguist, and understanding not only Latin and Greek, but several European languages. He had, in fact, practised as a civil engineer; had written a grammar and dictionary of his native language, and assured my informant that, in his opinion, it was a richer language than the Greek.

MONTE VIDEO AND BUENOS AYRES.

Most delicious was the cooler air of the La Plata, after the breezeless heat of Rio. Captain Warner, whom I had known previously, did all

Digitized by Google

in his power to make our voyage agreeable. Before we cast anchor at Monte Video we were surrounded with boats from ships of every nation, anxious for news, and we were enabled to tell them that the English fleet had entered the Black Sea. The green treeless and conical hill from which the town, founded by the Spaniards in 1726, is named, rises conspicuously from a generally flat shore. My first visit there was a short one;—a stroll round the town, remarking its fort and ditch, and the buildings erected during the long siege commenced by Oribe, under the dictatorship of Rosas at Buenos Ayres, in 1842. Its excellent shops, market, and an enormous opera-house, not then finished, occupied an afternoon that finished with an agreeable evening at the British Consulate and a comfortable room at the posada. The constant verdure, more undulating country, and numerous streams, render the Banda Orientale in many respects a more desirable place for immigrant farmers than Buenos Ayres, which is occasionally subject to drought. A settler in the Banda Orientale has nothing to fear from Indians, which is not quite the case with occupants to the south of Buenos Ayres. There are thousands of French at Monte Video; but the Walloons are, I understand, the most numerous. In 1857 and 1858 two companies of Vaudois emigrants arrived and settled at Florida, about sixty miles

Digitized by Google

from Monte Video; but being interfered with by the Jesuits, they removed further off, and have since remained thriving and unmolested. The Jesuits were finally expelled in 1859. In these countries there will probably soon be no lack of emigrants, who will stipulate for little more than peace and security.*

At the confluence of the Uruguay and the Rio Negro there is—or, rather, there might be—the model farm of the world. The two rivers approach each other so nearly that a neck of land of only two miles in width intervenes between them. They then separate, enclosing a flat oval space of about thirty miles in length; and this peninsula, which is known as Las Gallinas, belongs, I believe, to one family, and contains some of the finest possible land for grazing and other farm purposes. A village on the banks of the Rio Negro is frequented for the purpose of bathing in the stream, which is strongly impregnated by the roots of the sarsaparilla. I have already mentioned the similar peculiarity of the stream near Vera Cruz; and inland from Payta, on the coast of Peru, is another much resorted to for the same purpose, and with the best purifying and restorative results. Why, again I ask, should not sarsaparilla baths be introduced into England? Any required quantity of the root is procurable.

* *Vide* "The Manual for Emigrants to Uruguay, &c."

Digitized by Google

THE LA PLATA.

A moving surface of fresh water of ninety-six miles in a straight line is extended between Monte Video and Buenos Ayres. The necessity of a tortuous course to avoid shoals and shallows increases the voyage to about 110 miles. The existence of a small ship left high and dry near one of the public rides at the latter place proves that even that extent may be sometimes much increased by pamperos and floods. Imagine the channel between Brighton and Dieppe running like a river, and some idea may be formed of the appearance of the mouth of La Plata as seen from the hill at Monte Video. No ship drawing more than fourteen feet can approach within five miles of Buenos Ayres, and boats, or large-wheeled carts, are in constant use for landing passengers. A pier or jetty is now, however, in course of construction. As a consequence of so much wading, an expert swimmer there is presumed to be a native of Monte Video, or, at all events, not a Buenos Ayreean. The Paraguay may be navigated by vessels of some burden the whole way to the Jaura, in latitude 16° 25′. It had lately been ascended by Captain Page in a small steamer, the *Water Witch*, nearly to Matto Grosso, in the Brazils, with smooth water for the whole distance of more than 1,800 miles.

Digitized by Google

The navigation of the Parana is impeded by the great cataract already mentioned. It is said that a portage of not more than thirty miles over a watershed, which would not offer an insuperable obstacle to the cutting of a canal, intervenes between the head waters of the Paraguay and those of the Preto, which falls into the Tapajoz, one of the great feeders of the Amazons; and the junction of these two mighty streams, affording an inland communication from the mouth of the Amazons to Buenos Ayres, may be prophesied, like the cutting of the Isthmus of Panama and that of Suez, as events that must take place at some future period.

I found the Races going on at Buenos Ayres, the English, of course, being their principal supporters, my friend Mr. F. Parish at the head of them, and proving himself as good a gentleman-jockey as he is clear-headed and efficient as her Majesty's Consul. The horses were chiefly Pampa bred, not large, nor very thoroughbred looking, but bony and enduring.

The curious effects of the north wind have always been noticed, irritating the most genial dispositions in a manner that is as yet unaccountable, and there are plenty of people who can foretell its advent with certainty, on account of the uncomfortable increase of their own pains, aches, and disagreeable sensations. The Pampero,

Digitized by Google

or south-west wind from the pampas, frequently sweeps over La Plata with terrific violence, but it has the good effect of clearing the air, and its first fury is succeeded by mild and delicious weather. In the evening the principal street is crowded with the best company in Buenos Ayres. The graceful beauty for which the ladies are celebrated is far from being diminished by their retaining the mantilla thrown over a reasonably sized comb in preference to the European bonnet now coming into fashion. Some years ago, when the mania for wearing large combs was prevalent, of course they were made of an extravagant size, and I was shown one of eight inches wide and two feet long. The evening is finished at the opera or ball-room, or by dropping in at a friend's house (and I shall not easily forget the hospitality of some of them), where refreshments are invariably served, and the guitar or piano always ready as an accompaniment to a waltz, or a polka, or a song. The national dance seemed to be composed of the minuet, the contredanse, waltz, galop, and polka united. Maté is drunk morning, noon, and night, sucked from a cup or a silver-mounted cocoa-nut shell, by means of a silver pipe with a perforated bulb at the end of it. It much resembles black tea in flavour, having, however, so I understood, none of the bad effects of tea on the nerves when drunk in quantities.

Digitized by Google

I remember going to see the opera of "Charles VI." The French admiral on the South American station, with the best possible taste, particularly requested that the words "à bas les Anglais" might be altered in the chorus; and the words "à bas les tyrans" were substituted for them.

The *specialité* of Buenos Ayres are the "Barracas," or slaughter-houses, and they are well worth a visit, if it be only to see how rapidly life can be disposed of. Cattle are constantly being driven in from the plains, and some half-dozen at a time are goaded into a wedge-shaped space or corral, about fifteen or twenty yards in length, and strongly palisaded. At the apex is a gateway; over it is a large beam, on which a man stands with a strong, sharp stiletto. An assistant throws the lasso over one of the cattle, and the other end of it is instantly made fast to a rope working over a pulley and attached to two horses outside; the rider urges them forward, the bullock is dragged head foremost under the beam in spite of his struggles, and his head drops instantly from the infliction, with but little force, of a single stab close behind the horns. The lasso is taken off, a chain and hook thrown over the animal, by which he is dragged through the door into the slaughter-house, and is skinned and cut up in an incredibly short space of time. The hide is sent to Europe, and the meat salted

Digitized by Google

and sent principally, I believe, to Cuba as food for the negroes. Upwards of a million head of cattle are annually disposed of in this manner. It is rather a curious fact that the small black vulture or turkey-buzzard should not have found its way to Buenos Ayres, where the barracas would afford him a constant and luxurious repast. There are plenty of them at a few hundred miles' distance to the northward, and, as humming-birds are common, the temperature would not appear to be so cold as to give a certain reason for their absence; at all events, I certainly saw none. Numerous crows, however, do duty for them, and make themselves very useful. The very air seems to be impregnated with a saline and ammoniated odour; and bones of dead horses, as well as cattle, are to be seen in many directions outside the city, and in some places they are collected and piled together so as to form the nucleus of a bank by the roadside.

The taverns in the vicinity of the beach are much frequented by the English sailors, often, of course, in a state of intoxication and disposed for a row. One of them, when I was there, quarrelled with a sentry, overpowered him, took his musket, bent it, and then gave it back, with the recommendation of its being able to shoot round a corner. The officer of the guard, coming up at the moment, wounded the sailor

Digitized by Google

with his sword so severely that no further notice was taken by the authorities. The guacho, or native peasant, usually resorts to the knife, and one morning we were informed that a very respectable German tavern-keeper had been mortally wounded by a drunken guacho, to whom he had simply refused more spirits. Two hundred Germans attended his funeral. Humanity is not the forte of the natives of these countries; for instance, if a bullock gives them any extra trouble in driving him from the plains, they immediately cut one of the hind legs to make him walk slowly.

A sportsman can amuse himself well by shooting the quail of the country, at a distance of about six or seven miles from the town, and good snipe and duck shooting is to be had or a morass not nearly so far off. Deer, ostriches, or emus may be seen further inland. A good pointer or retriever is generally necessary to find the quail in the long grass. I was one of a party which by starting about three in the morning, contrived, by riding, and the aid of a travelling waggon, to arrive by night at a hacienda about 100 miles distant on the pampas, narrowly escaping being upset bodily in the dark into a large deep pit by the side of the track. Here we met with hospitable cheer and found very good shooting on the plain. We bagged ducks, geese, swans, the common quail, and the

Digitized by Google

larger partridge, so called—it being, in fact, a sort of rail not quite so big as a half-grown hen pheasant. The light-coloured deer of the country were occasionally unharboured from the low thicket, and we coursed one or two with the half-bred native greyhounds, who can run also by scent. Some of the wild horses were driven in from the pampa and confined in the corral, or enclosed space, in order that we might see how a young one was treated. He was first lassoed, hobbled, and then saddled and bridled whilst making violent exertions to free himself. One of them (for several were tried) threw himself with a bucking jump on the ground, and seemed to sulk like a mule. No English thoroughbred horse could have been treated in the same manner. He was mounted before his legs were freed from the bandages, which were taken off at intervals, whilst he did his worst to get rid of his rider; and one of them, the rider having dismounted, tore away into the plain, pulling down with him the men, who were then obliged to let go the ropes with which he was held. What with hobbling, spurring, and allowing him to kick and plunge until he was tired, he was, for the time at least, completely mastered. Two such lessons were generally considered to be enough, and he was then commonly used as a riding horse, not however without aid from the powerful bit and huge

Digitized by Google

spurs of the Argentine guachos. Mr. Rarey's treatment would, I should think, be far too humane and tedious for the impetuous centaurs of the pampas, though it is not improbable that, from their constant "hippodamoian" occupation, they may, or at least some of them, have acquired a knowledge of it, and be aware of its efficacy. The horses on the plains move about in small herds, following an old mare with a bell, with whom they have been brought up. She is known as the "madrina," and they graze, trot, or gallop with her. Many of them have been broken in, in the way I have just described, and as we posted over the plain, the madrina cantered alongside with her attendants; and when it was necessary to change horses, the guacho postilions dismounted, threw the lasso, and caught and harnessed those they wanted, leaving the tired animals to the care of the madrina. These postilions wore boots only a little inferior in size to those of the old French postilions, and they must have had frames of adamant to enable them to stand, as they did, the constant exertion of forcing young, plunging, unbroken horses to drag a heavy vehicle at a fast pace over the deep ruts and inequalities of a pampas road. The guachos, however, are amongst the hardiest of the human race, and acquire condition by living constantly on beef. They will eat it half roasted, and are not particular about

Digitized by Google

salt, using only their knives and their fingers, and often stretching a piece of meat between their teeth and the left hand while they separate the mouthful. "Carne con cuero," or beef dressed with the skin on, is most excellent. The best part of the beef—say the sirloin—is left with enough of the hide adhering to it to envelope it, and the overlapping edges are skewered or sewn up, so that the mass somewhat resembles a hat in shape; it is then put into an oven. The advantage of this process is that all the gravy and moisture are retained in the meat, and the general opinion is that it "outeats" (as I heard an American express himself) the best roast beef cooked in the usual manner. The expense at Buenos Ayres attended the loss of the hide, which is more valuable than the meat. I should think the process would be worth trying, with venison for instance, in England.

For particulars of the early history of these countries watered by the La Plata, from their first discovery by Juan Diaz de Solis (1515),* to the final establishment of Paraguay as a province by Yrala (1557), and of Buenos Ayres as a port by De Garay (1580), I must refer my readers to the masterly and compendious work of Sir Woodbine Parish. "The remains of Yrala," he says (page 56 to 63), "are entombed and honoured in the

* Vincent Pinzon landed in Brazil in 1500.

Digitized by Google

church of his own building at Assumption, founded in 1535. In due time, perhaps, some suitable public monument may equally record the good and brave deeds of the founder of Buenos Ayres, Don Juan de Garay, both Biscayan hidalgos of high birth, ambitious of fame, and alike favoured by fortune in their undertakings." In 1620 the government of Buenos Ayres, as the capital of Rio de la Plata, was formed independent of Paraguay. The first bishop arrived in Paraguay in 1555. The Jesuits arrived and commenced their well-known labours in 1610, in La Guayra and the upper parts of the Parana, reducing vast numbers of the Guarani tribes to Christianity, and to a comparatively civilized state, in their celebrated mission. No set of men seem at first to use their reason in combination with energy, learning, religious zeal, and humanity so well as, or better than, the Jesuits; none seem to have been so invariably suicidal by a subsequent abuse of it. In 1757 the Marquis of Pombal drove them from Portugal, and in 1767 Charles III., in open defiance of the threats and remonstrances of Clement XIII., banished them by a preconcerted arrangement on the same day, at the same hour, from all his dominions in America as well as in Europe.*

* For the further history of these countries, or of the La Plata, in the latter half of the last and the beginning of the present century, I gladly again refer my readers to Sir W.

Digitized by Google

According to the latest accounts, there never was a brighter or more promising prospect for

Parish's work, who quotes Azara, Dean Funes, De Angelis, &c. His book was translated into Spanish with additional notes, by order of Urquiza's Government, and a copy of it may be seen in the Library of the Royal Geographical Society.

The following short reference to British operations may not be considered out of place by some readers :—

It was with a view of weakening France by attracting the attention of Spain that General Beresford and Sir Home Popham landed at Ensenada, below Buenos Ayres, with about 1,500 men, and took the city and more than a million of dollars, on the 27th June, 1806. On the 12th August following, Beresford and his small army were obliged to retire into the fort by a general rising of the inhabitants, aided by a force brought over by one Liniers (a Frenchman) from Monte Video, and to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Admiral Popham established a blockade of the river, waiting for reinforcements from the Cape. In October a force was sent from England under Sir S. Achmuty, who (February, 1807) carried Monte Video by assault, with great loss. In March General Whitelock was sent out with additional troops, raising the entire force, with those sent from the Cape, to about 9,000. Upon the arrival of the latter on May 7, 1807, he took the command, and on the 10th July failed in his attack, and signed a capitulation in which was included the withdrawal of the British forces from Monte Video as well as Buenos Ayres—a stipulation inserted at the last moment by Alsaya, one of the leading men in Buenos Ayres. Paraguay, it may here be added, was the first to assert her independence. The Banda Orientale, under the rule of Artegas, followed her example, and Bolivia, previously known as Upper Peru, declared her independence in 1825.

The leading historical events in chronological order were :— May 23, 1810, the deposition of the Viceroy and establishment of a junta. On July 9, 1816, the deputies from the different provinces assembled at San Miguel de Tucaman pro-

Digitized by Google

these countries than at present. The amount of emigration to Buenos Ayres is largely increasing,

claimed their absolute independence of Spain. In 1819 the same Congress published a constitution which occasioned the first serious conflict between the provinces and the capital, from its being based on a system of centralization or unitarianism, giving supreme power to Buenos Ayres, in opposition to a federal system by which the chiefs then in power in the provinces hoped to maintain their own more or less independent of the capital. The chiefs united and took possession of Buenos Ayres, overturning the authority of Puerreydon, the supreme director, and setting up Sarratia, who was soon removed and succeeded by a great many others in a very short time. Out of this anarchy arose, at Buenos Ayres, the Government comprising the Sala de Representantes and regular Ministry known as that of Rivadavia, he being then minister of General Rodriguez, the nominal governor of the city. It was during this Government (in 1824) that Mr. Canning recognized the independence of the new States, "calling into existence new republics in South America, in order to counterbalance the growing power of the North;" and Sir W. Parish was sent out as the first British political agent in Buenos Ayres, at a time when peace had been made between the capital and the provinces, on condition that they were each to do their best, separately and independently of the capital, to amend their provincial governments on the model of that established at Buenos Ayres, and until they should again meet in Congress to settle their national constitution. In 1825 the Constituent Congress met accordingly, and empowered the Government of Buenos Ayres to take charge temporarily of the foreign affairs and national interests. Buenos Ayres was rapidly rising to importance and prosperity under that system; she had conciliated the provinces, and they were once more assembled in Congress, when war unfortunately broke out with the Brazils for the possession of Monte Video, which during the struggle between Spain and Buenos Ayres had been temporarily occupied by Portuguese

Digitized by Google

and the profitable returns of sheep-farming are almost superseding the old *estancias*, and are

troops, in consequence, says Sir W. Parish, of the anarchical proceedings of the notorious Artegas, who headed the provinces of Entre Rio, Corrientes, and Santa Fé, in opposing the Central Government at Buenos Ayres. Monte Video had been founded by Spaniards, was a Spanish possession, and a dependency of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, to which it had always belonged; but when Brazil had declared her own independence, the Emperor Don Pedro refused to give it up. War broke out and continued for three years, 1825—28, during which time Buenos Ayres was nominally blockaded by a large Brazilian squadron. Eventually, the successes of the Buenos Ayreeans, both by land and sea, obliged the Emperor to agree, under British mediation, to the raising of the disputed territories, in 1828, into an independent State, since and now called "Banda Orientale del Uruguay." In the meantime, Rivadavia had been made president of the province of La Plata, and promulgated another constitution, which, like the first, being based on the Unitarian instead of the Federal system, ended in his own overthrow, and a new triumph to the federalists, who shortly before the close of the war with the Brazils elected Dorrego to be governor of Buenos Ayres and chief of the confederation. The army, however, was in Rivadavia's interest, and as soon as peace was concluded by Dorrego, in 1828, the troops mutinied in favour of Unitarianism (*i.e.*, the supremacy of Buenos Ayres over the other provinces), and turned out in the Plaza. Dorrego fled to Rosas, a landed proprietor of great wealth and influence, and descended from an old family in Spain. He collected an army of guachos, or wild horsemen of the pampas, who were at first beaten by the regular troops, and galloped off separately, as is their custom, in the shape of a fan. Dorrego repaired to a stronghold in the possession of Acha, who was his friend; but who gave him up to La Valle, the Unitarian general, who ordered him to be shot, and the sentence was carried into execution after Dorrego had written several affecting letters

Digitized by Google

attracting the attention of European capitalists. Railways are increasing, and steamers are plying

to different persons, and Sir W. Parish among them. Had not this atrocity been perpetrated, the Unitarian party under Rivadavia might have been restored to power, but the anger of the whole country was aroused, and Rosas, who was commandant in the country districts, where he had great influence, took the field to avenge the governor's death. The whole population of the country rallied round him, and he marched with 10,000 picked men. Lopez, the governor of Santa Fé, and the oldest of the Federal chiefs, also raised a force to aid him in putting down the mutinous army, and a long and sanguinary struggle ensued, ending with the complete annihilation of the army and the triumph of Rosas, who was in consequence chosen governor of Buenos Ayres for the first time. He had little of real power to gain by accepting the office, and knowing how precarious its tenure was, how full of responsibilities, and the utterly demoralized state of the whole republic, he would not undertake it, even when it was subsequently pressed upon him, without having the sanction of the people at large for his acceptance of it, on the distinct understanding that it was to be with full and unlimited powers. The whole male population was called out to vote on the occasion; and there being at the time a very strong feeling in his favour, he was placed in authority by the almost unanimous vote of the people (1835). He was undoubtedly a remarkable man, of extraordinary industry in all matters of business, and thoroughly knowing his countrymen, but without being able to boast of the general world-wide knowledge necessary to the statesman. His unlimited power soon made him evince a love of despotism, which, I was informed, he was not naturally inclined to, and the consequence was that after a career of about twenty years of misdirected power and the prestige of his first fame worn out, he was turned out (1851) by one of his own officers, Urquiza, who was said to have received encouragement from the Brazils, naturally not averse to any plan having a tendency to weaken the republic. Urquiza was himself soon obliged to quit Buenos

Digitized by Google

regularly upon the great river as high as Paraguay. Cotton is being sown in the Banda

Ayres in haste, and he retired to his own province of Entre Rios, where the guns and warlike stores he had taken with him enabled him to establish himself as chief of the New Argentine Confederation. England, France, and the United States recognized him in his position in consequence of his having thrown open the navigation of the river to foreign shipping. Captain the Hon. R. Gore, R.N., British Minister, for some political reasons had made Monte Video his head-quarters at the time, and the moral support just received by Urquiza had a tendency to protract the separation of the provinces from Buenos Ayres.

The history of these countries, again, more particularly between 1818 and 1825, has been nearly one series of disturbances. In 1820 each province set up for itself, and in the early times of their independence a temporary power or brief authority was occasionally misused, so it is alleged, in the violence of party spirit, in order to produce confusion and consequent weakness, by which the mother country might more easily be enabled to regain her sway. This policy, however, was rendered ineffective by the refusal of Spain herself to support it, whilst its results were deplorable on account of the wars and rumours of wars which attended and followed it.

The paramount importance of Buenos Ayres is made apparent by Art. 38 of the New Constitution of October 2, 1860, where the number of deputies for each province for the first Legislature is specified at twelve for Buenos Ayres, while the next highest number, six, is given to Cordova; three sit for Catamarca, four for Corrientes, two for Entre Rios, two for Jujui, three for Mendoza, three for La Rioja, three for Salta, four for Santiago, two for San Juan, two for Santa Fé, two for San Luis, and three for Tucuman. Each deputy must be twenty-five years of age, and must have served four years in the army, and remain as deputy for four years. For a senator, it is necessary that he be thirty years of age, have been a citizen for six years, and have an income of 2,000 dollars a year; his term of office is nine years.

Digitized by Google

Orientale, Entre Rios, Santa Fé, Corrientes, Tucuman, Mendoza, and several of the other provinces. The revenue is increasing with the increase of commerce, and the bondholders and domestic creditors of the State are receiving payment for their long outstanding claims.

By the last accounts the Congress was at last installed at Buenos Ayres. The national authorities will continue to reside there, but the choice of the Federal capital is, however, postponed for three years. The province around Buenos Ayres will be regulated and administered by Federal authorities in the same manner as the district of Columbia in the United States. The Governor-General Mitre was expected to be President of the Republic, all the provinces having given in their adhesion to Buenos Ayres as the capital for the time being. Events have proved that the Argentine Confederation without Buenos Ayres is powerless for purposes of self-government. General Urquiza had no authority out of his Government of Entre Rios, which he had been allowed to retain until his term of office expired. But by the mail (July 23, 1862) there was a report in circulation that he had despatched a secret agent to the Government of Monte Video to propose the formation, with the Eastern Republic and the provinces of Corrientes and Entre Rios, of a new confederation to rival that of which Buenos Ayres is the centre—a proposal

Digitized by Google

that could not fail to attract the attention of the Brazils. But the proposal, if ever made, has not been followed by the result he wished for; and General Urquiza is probably the last of those military chiefs whose struggles for command, rightly or wrongly, have been so disastrous to these countries ever since they declared their independence.

Captain Gore wrote to me from Monte Video, where he was then resident for political reasons, that I ought not to return to Europe without knowing General Urquiza, but at the time of my quitting Buenos Ayres for Rosario, 125 leagues from Santa Fé, where he then resided, the general was travelling in Corrientes, and the kindly proffered introduction was of no use.

START FROM BUENOS AYRES.

With the intention of making my way across the continent, through the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, and Peru, to Lima, I went on board a small steamer called the *Progresso* (June 4, 1854), and we were soon under way for Rosario, with a full cargo and a deck crowded with passengers, amongst whom were a few poor Irish about to seek their fortunes at the edge of the pampas. Mr. Hickman, an enterprizing North American, who was going to attempt the descent of the Vermejo river, was also on board. He

Digitized by Google

fell down into the hold and hurt his shin badly, when one of the Irishmen, by way of consolation, reminded him that he was in a "grazing" country. The high undulations and verdant land of the Banda Orientale del Uruguay formed a background to the view as we touched at the granitic island of Martin Garcia, which, if properly garrisoned, might command the entrance of the river. On the 5th we, in the Parana, passed a bold headland covered with forest on the right bank; the river here about a mile in width, with perfectly flat country on the left. We stopped at San Nicholas, on the right bank, about sixty feet high, a large collection of roofs, with one steeple, and on the 6th arrived at Rosario, and anchored close to a river boat laden with oranges, with which the crew pelted us, whilst a magnificent macaw was climbing about the rigging like a sailor. The then Federal capital, Santa Fé, was well placed on the forks of the river, but the city of Parana, on the left bank, is still better protected. The commercial prosperity of both would be much exceeded by that of Rosario as a starting point for Cordova and the North. The town was rapidly increasing in size, and new houses were rising in different directions, indicative of increasing traffic with the interior. Had to show my passport, and got away in the diligence for Cordova the same evening, in company with some native Spaniards.

Digitized by Google

The almost treeless pampa begins from nearly the edge of the town, and is continued the whole way to the vicinity of Cordova. It seemed much burnt up, and there was nowhere much of the long pampa grass. I had been assured that there was now very little possibility of molestation from Indians, but some of our native fellow-travellers were in great anxiety on the subject, and one or two of them drank maté almost incessantly by way of consolation. Another of them at intervals kept plying us with what he termed "simple ponch," made with the spirit of the country mixed up with sugar and water. However, we passed on without annoyance, sleeping at the post-house at Candelaria, which is generally considered the most probable place for an attack by Indians. The premises were nearly surrounded by an organ-like fence of cactus. Thence to Demachau, and thence to Urequipa, where I slept in the vehicle, and about two in the morning was awakened by the hostess opening the door and screaming "Los Indios, los Indios!" and I had the trouble, although having arms ready, to clamber to the top of the diligence and unpack and make my "Purdey" ready. Our fellow-passengers were in a state of great alarm, and on the look-out from the roof and other places, eying the horizon, the treeless and grass-covered expanse, by aid of a bright moonlight. Mr. Hickman and I proceeded to reconnoitre, walking

Digitized by Google

round the premises, and in about half an hour re-entered the post-house, where we found our friend had as usual prepared his "simple ponch;" and very acceptable it was, the night being very cold. A servant had distinctly seen two men pass within hail of the post-house, and having called to them and receiving no answer, he was right in giving the alarm, as the Indians always send on two or three scouts in advance to obtain intelligence previous to making an attack. They are in the habit of keeping at a distance until satisfied that the passengers' ammunition is expended, and then close and plunder, kill, or carry off for a ransom. In Sir Woodbine Parish's work there is a melancholy account of the failure of an attempt to ransom some Christian captives by the officers of an exploring expedition in 1822. But in 1832-33, General Rosas succeeded in rescuing by force of arms more than 1,500 Christians and their children. At Guardia la Seguira we found some troops stationed there for protection against the Indians; crossed the Tercero there (about the size of a fourth-rate English river), arrived at Cruz Alta, and slept at Salaria de Ruedia, each post-house being in the open country, and the distance from one to the other varying from four to five or six leagues. Walked on in advance of the diligence, saw deer* of the pampas and

* Cervus antinensis.

Digitized by Google

ostriches on the plain, and killed a biscacho, the rabbit, or rather in appearance the marmot, of the country, on the burrows near the roadside. Passed Fraile Muerto and Erraduro—host and family very handsome. Saw a white bird in the distance new to me—algeroba trees about mid-day—and more habitations by the roadside along the banks of the Rio Segundo—biscachos numerous. Slept at Villa Nueva, and started at six o'clock next morning. The blue mountains to the west of Cordova became visible about nine. Passed Oncatira; slept at La Posta Moreida, and entered Cordova by a descent, the next morning, through a thicket of algerobas and other mimosas, after four days' travelling by diligence. The country around put me in mind of a "rut" or preserve in the Punjab. A bird resembling a pheasant in shape was occasionally seen.

June 11.—Called on the Governor, Don Carmen Alejo Guzman, LL.D., and delivered my letters, after having secured a room at a tolerably comfortable posada, with a coffee-room and separate tables. Cordova contains eleven churches, including the cathedral, of which I bought some photographs, which I afterwards lost. We were shown the ruins of a convent, said to be 200 years old, built of tapia work. I also observed some very good houses; at the door of one of them (his own) I saw one of our fellow-passengers. "Whose house is this?" I

Digitized by Google

asked. "La suya" (yours), was the Spanish and startling reply; but I never saw the inside of it. At the house of our other friend who made the "simple ponch" we got maté, whilst his eldest daughter, a pretty-looking girl, entertained us on the piano; but I remember no other hospitality. The houses were generally white, of one story, with projecting Spanish roofs, and the usual *pateo*, or open square space, in the centre. A Corpus-Christi procession moved round the plaza, and stopped for a while at the temporary altars erected at each corner. I was civilly requested to take my hat off as I crossed the square, when the ceremony was going on. The governor and the ministers attended at the cathedral, in their rich uniforms. I saw the Senate sitting in an unpretending chamber, but nothing of any public importance was under discussion. The governor had introduced me to one of his ministers, and obligingly presented me with a copy of the "Argentine constitution." He informed me that red and white marble, steatite, and coal also were to be found in the sierra of Cordova. The latter will be of use to the new railway, or any future steam-engine between Cordovo and Rosario. I visited the College, once the most famous in the country, but which, since the expulsion of the Jesuits, enjoys comparatively little celebrity. It will now, however, be probably restored to some of

Digitized by Google

its former importance. There were but eighty students. A mere trifle was annually paid by those who lived at home, and the expenses of those who boarded in the college did not exceed eighty dollars a year. For this sum Latin, mathematics, history, &c., but no Greek, were taught.

A good house and shop in the plaza at Cordova were rented for about eighteen dollars a month. I was surprised at the cheapness of some English goods, such as socks, handkerchiefs, &c., and I was told it was owing to a glut, and that again was attributed to slow and imperfect means of distribution. Being so directly in the line of communication with the north-west provinces, few places would benefit more than Cordova by railway communication.*

My companion had secured the services of

* By the last accounts we hear that a grand scheme of immigration has lately been laid before the Government, and that the committee have reported most favourably on the project of a railway from Rosario to Cordova, "a distance of 83 leagues, through a fertile, well-stocked country, offers such a road a prospect which throughout South America has no equal,—Cordova being one of the most ancient cities in the confederation, with a population of about 20,000, and 15,000 more in the provinces. After Buenos Ayres it is the most go-ahead province of La Plata."—*Weekly Standard*, July 13th, 1862. Another railway across the pampas from Cordova to Copiapo has been reported on by Mr. Wheelwright, but, as far as I could see, it is very doubful whether at present the traffic would be sufficient to make it pay.

Digitized by Google

four German carpenters to assist him in building his boat and navigating the Vermejo; and an English gentleman, Mr. A. B——, of Buenos Ayres, was induced to travel up the country with us from Cordova, and his information, derived from long residence, was of great use to us. Mr. Hickman, for some reason, wished to travel round by Catamarca, instead of going northward by the usual route to Santiago, and the former way had the advantage of being much less known.*

The masses of meteoric iron at Otumpa, in the Gran Chaco, of which Sir W. Parish gives an account, and of which there is a lump in the British Museum, are usually visited from Santiago, though not without some risk of an attack by Indians.

We started from Cordova on the 21st of June, 1854 (the middle of winter, I need scarcely add,

* Felipe Ibarra of St. Jago was one of the most prominent men during the civil wars I have before alluded to. As an officer he distinguished himself in the war of independence against the Spaniards, and having been afterwards elected governor of the place, as a servant of the Federalists he succeeded in making himself comparatively independent of any party, assumed the reins of government, and was commander-in-chief, judge, bishop, &c., for a period of thirty-two years up to his death in 1851, not, however, without the imputation of cruelty in his administration of what he termed justice, by having ordered two or three people to be sewed up in fresh hides, which become dry, and inflict a most painful death by hardening and contracting in irregular folds.

Digitized by Google

in this hemisphere). Henceforth horses and mules were to be my only conveyance until I reached Lima, nor in any intervening place did I see a single carriage (or a single fir-tree) excepting the Tucuman cart, with its huge wheels, seven or eight feet in diameter,—a size rendered necessary by the sand, mud, and floods which they have to pass through on the way to and from Buenos Ayres. I have since heard that a diligence is started from Cordova northward. At the edge of the town we crossed the Primero, which flows along the base of a well-wooded sierra, and looks like a clear, rapid, and full English trout stream, and then made our start across the plain, riding along the dusty high track to the north. The convent of Santa Catarina was our first day's destination, though not much less than forty miles distant. The sierra gradually lowered to the horizon as we proceeded in the heat of a hot summer's day in England, the open country around reminding me, as before, of the plains of the Punjab. A small holly-bush was frequent among the numerous mimosas. We soon passed a space on the tablada or tableland, where a battle was fought between General Paz and Quiroga.*

* Of all the names prominent in the civil wars of these countries, few were more so for a time than that of Quiroga. He became a very Attila in favour of the Federalists. His stronghold was La Rioja, and he swept the plains with his

Digitized by Google

Observed in the distance a grey bird with a red crest; another like a crested redstart. A brown and white hawk was often to be seen. I noticed the nest of the carancho, and a small grey hawk with a red tail. We were benighted, not knowing the way; fired several shots, and at last were answered by the Germans, who had been sent on in advance. At last two very tall trees seemed in the gloom to rise over the mimosa forest; they turned out to be two steeples at the gate of the convent. We met a kind reception from Señor Jose Diaz and his family residing there; gave us supper, and afterwards, as is usual, the guitar was introduced. Looked over his farm with him the next morning. Very proud of it. The steadings, built by his grandfather, were very large and commodious, but certainly not well attended to; there were cattle and sheep and pigs in and about them. The garden also was large, but in the most slovenly condition. The whole premises were, as usual, surrounded by a wall. A chapel, in which service was performed for the

Riojanos, who, it is said, each rode an inferior horse leading a charger ready for work; and such was the rapidity of his movements, and his strong-handed and unscrupulous conduct, that he was generally known as "El Tigre de los Llanos." He was the rival of Rosas in the upper provinces, and was assassinated on his return from an interview with him in a pass near Cordova, which he persisted in entering after having been warned of treachery.

Digitized by Google

benefit of the scanty population in the district, is all that remains of the ecclesiastical establishment. The convent was built by the Jesuits in 1726, and came into the hands of the family that now possess it after their expulsion; but it was plundered of cattle and other property by a detachment sent from Cordova during its occupation by Oribe in the civil wars, and is now nothing but a farming hacienda. Halted the next day; sketched the convent; went out shooting, and got a few ducks and small partridges, or rather quail, of the country. Noticed a reservoir with an underground conduit for the supply of the convent. Next morning sent the mules on in advance. Mr. Hickman and I again got benighted and lost ourselves; amused by his resigning himself to my guidance as an experienced traveller, and then by his whistling "Auld Lang Syne," which I never heard him do, or, in fact, whistle at all, excepting once on a similar occasion. Rode across country to a light, and were glad to find it was a sort of post-house, where we slept on the floor with the family, using our saddles as pillows. Killed some quail for breakfast out of a patch of clover close by. Mules came up, and with them Mr. B——, who had also contrived to lose himself.

The pod of the algeroba is used with malt instead of hops in making *chicha*, the beer of the Indians, who masticate it by way of assisting

Digitized by Google

the fermentation whilst buried in earthern vessels in the ground. But this revolting practice is superseded in the towns by the usual method, and chicha is then a refreshing draught. Tasted a sweetmeat made of the prickly pear. Country flat, open, and rugged, with more or less wood. Passed "Sauce Chiquito" (the little willow), a place about twelve leagues from the salt desert. Slept at Masitas. Low granite ridges began to crop out. The next morning we soon observed indications of our approach to the salt desert, which was visible as a white line in the blue distance. Went away from the track to shoot some pigeons at a small pond, and noticed the cactus, known as the "old man." Saw two animals in a distant opening of the forest, resembling hares; believed them to have been agoutis. More granite rocks, and a gentle ascent in the road. Sapless aspect of the vegetation, but saw some cattle, proving the vicinity of water. Afterwards passed some maize fields and prickly-pear trees at intervals. Saw a black and red-headed woodpecker, with a curved beak, and another bird like a woodpecker; numerous pigeons; red butterfly; humming-bird. A tree that had been cut down to get at the honey in a bee's nest reminded me of Montesquieu's "Idée de Despotisme." Remarked the sameness in the mimosa forest, which ceased about a league from the Salt Desert. Small birds flew

Digitized by Google

about occasionally, who must drink from a deposit of dew, there being no other water near them. Arrived at Cachi Yuya after a march of eleven leagues; few huts; pretty peasant women; water brackish from two wells with machinery. Ate some cheese made there, and cooked some of our macaroni (no traveller in a wild country should be without some) for the first time. The algeroba and the algerobilla, or mistole-tree, with a sweet pod, common in these forests, and a small *brea*, or pitch-tree, were noticeable on account of its smooth shining bark.

June 26.—Walked forward in the morning, and sat on a dry bank near the edge of the desert for an hour waiting for the mules. In Sir W. Parish's map there is a place marked Cachicorral, which may be and probably is Cachi Yuya, but it is curious that no other similarity of name occurs. The city of La Rioja lay to the west, with eight or ten leagues of salt desert intervening. Observed red locusts preyed on by hawks; also tracks of ostriches and *guernacos* or wild llamas. The floor of the desert generally hard; not much sand, but much incrusted with soda. I was informed that the alkaline deposit from the species of barilla which grows there, and is known as the soda-ash of Santiago, used to be sent down to Buenos Ayres as potash, but it was found that soft soap, which requires

Digitized by Google

potash, could not be made with it. We rode that day about fourteen leagues, thirteen of which were over desert apparently bounded by the ridges of the protruded granite, perfectly flat, and sunk below banks like those of a lake, and they were about twenty feet high, on the top of which was vegetation. To-day we were lost again by not being able to discern the track in the evening, and it was dark before we saw the tents and muleteer fires on the plain beyond the desert, and reached them by the assistance of a guide sent back to look for us.

June 27.—From Atravesia to Orqueta, through forest with open spaces, low clay ridges here and there, reminding me of those in the northern prairies. High anthills occasionally appeared in the distance to be of natural Gothic, or shaped like one of Queen Eleanor's crosses in England. "Whole plains," says Sir W. Parish, "in Corrientes and Paraguay are covered with the dome-like and conical surfaces arising five or six feet or more in height, and covered with a cement hard as rock and impervious to the wet. Man's vanity might easily induce him to mistake them for works of his own species in miniature; but no buildings he has ever yet constructed, with all his art and ingenuity, are comparable to the works of these little insects. The pyramids of Egypt do not boast one-half the relative proportion to his own size which the ordinary habitations of these

Digitized by Google

ants do to theirs." Quebracho-trees, like wild olives, with broad pear-like pods; wood used for spokes of wheels and rafts. Saw an ayouti running—moved much like a hare; and a guernaco or wild llama, which in the Highlands would have been taken for a large hind as it walked slowly into the thick wood. Was informed the name Patagonia is a junction of the word *pata*, a sandal, and *guernaco*, of the skin of which animal it is made. Large dog at Orqueta, where we slept. Walked forward the next morning; track very dusty—saw what I took to be a fox—and a large grey bird in the distance, which I believe to have been the large harpy eagle. After marching about twelve miles I turned out of the track to the left to inspect a small cave much resembling the interior of a house, and said not to be artificial. A small ground cactus, about the size of a large walnut; also the *barba de velha*, or "old man's beard" moss, on the trees. Tasted sweetmeat made of the fruit of the mistole and pounded maize. Heard the Chunia* for the first time; it is a small grey-coloured secretary-bird or serpent-eater, standing about twenty inches high, with long legs and neck, surmounted with the head and eye of a falcon. I constantly heard their cheerful call in the forest, particularly at sunrise, with a note closely re-

* Dicholophus Burmeisteri.

Digitized by Google

sembling that of young turkies; they run very fast through the bushes, so that it is necessary to use a dog, whom they escape by treeing, where they can be easily shot. It is a bold and sprightly bird, and is sometimes kept tame, being very useful in the destruction of vermin. It makes very short work of all crawling and creeping things, and attacks a snake by cautiously sideling up to it, and then seizing it by the neck with great rapidity; it exhibits surprising power, dashing it violently on the ground until the reptile ceases to move. Their *habitat*, as far as I could judge, extended from these forests to near Salta. I rarely heard them so far north, but remember to have seen one in a house in the Gran Chaco, not far from Oran. Came to a house at Valde de la Punta, whose poor occupiers informed me that six of their children had just died of smallpox. Made tea there, and gave them some sugar, which they asked for. Saw the first condor sailing majestically at no great height overhead. Had noticed from a great distance a low range of granite hills, which commenced here running north and south, and soon rising to about 1,000 feet in height, with a dark colour and gloomy appearance. At the first cropping out they sloped towards the east, presenting a precipitous front to the westward. The track lay beneath it. After three leagues we saw an opening of a pass from the hills to the right, which

Digitized by Google

we should have used if we had not previously turned off so as to avoid it. Encamped at Don Diego under the sierra, with flat forested country on the left. From this place the muleteers from Catamarca turn off to go to Mendoza, the latter place reckoned by them to be about forty-four leagues from the end of the salt desert. Heard of a plant called meloncillo, found in the province of St. Jago, said to be a specific cure for dysentery; also of others, named loconte and atamishki, both producing blisters. Saw a bird closely resembling the mocking-bird—also the track of a large snake, quite straight—and I left the road to follow some guernacos—got a shot at one at a long distance, and heard the ball strike him, but he made off into the thick forest. Slept at Las Breas, my companions not having come up. Next morning observed quantities of what I believe to be the *scoba*, or broom, that is so common in the Tierra Templada of Mexico. Chunias were calling in all directions, but were rarely seen, only one now and then rapidly crossing the track—a sort of grosbeak with a long tail—and a jet-black starling. A few huts in the forest are the first indications of the vicinity of the city of Catamarca, which we entered on the 1st July. It lies in a *cul de sac*, some ten to twelve miles wide, and backed by three ranges of hills, seemingly bare. I estimated their height at about 8,000 feet above the plain.

Digitized by Google

The plain is cut up by quebradas, precisely what are known as nullahs (ravines), up which large heavy clouds of mist were frequently driving. I had a doubt whether one of the highest peaks of the Andes would not have been visible from the upper range, but was told that two or three more ranges intervened. On the western side of them is the town named London, in remembrance of the marriage of Mary with Philip II., and built, as was the city of Catamarca itself and most of those in the upper provinces, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

Catamarca has a large open plaza, dull streets of low houses running at right angles, and its Cabildo and other modern public buildings. There is a union of elegance, good taste, and finish with solidity in most of the public edifices built by the old Spaniards, which, like those of Mexico, are in the late Italian style, in marked contrast (at least I thought so) with those constructed since the independence; and the convents, long walls, and few miradors or summer-houses when viewed from the eastward, with the mountains in their rear, rise with good effect from the gardens and orange groves that conceal the lower roofs of the private dwelling-houses. We paid a visit of ceremony to the governor, and were received with every attention. Rented an empty house. As I was travelling in company, I did not like to make particular

Digitized by Google

use of the letter Captain Gore had given me, and took my chance with my companions, but was told before starting that it was my own fault if I did not fare sumptuously in each of the capitals in consequence of his introduction. We visited the public schools for about one hundred boys and a greater number of girls. The former are taught theology, philosophy, mathematics, &c. Also the Franciscan convent, where there was certainly no great display of affluence. We looked in at the cell of one of the monks, of whom his brethren appeared proud on account of his talents for mechanics. He exhibited a clock of his own construction, evincing, for want of good tools, more genius and sheer industry than good workmanship. He said that he too wished to travel and see something of the world; but, added the poor monk with a sigh, *Aqui todo se acaba con el deseo!* (all here ends with the wish for it!) A clear rattling stream from the hills supplies the town with water, after having turned two small picturesque mill-wheels in its descent. All rent is regulated by the supply of water. The river afterwards is said to lose itself in the salt desert. Catamarca contains about 6,000 inhabitants. The Catamarcenios are said to be rather close-fisted, and are also nicknamed *Gotudos*, from the prevalence of goître; also *pasos de higos* (fig-footed), of silent and stealthy cunning.

Digitized by Google

The Riojanos enjoy a good reputation for fair dealing; the Cordoveses are considered what in England would be termed "slow," as would appear by the saying, *Cordoves bueno y burro parejero* (Anglicé, a good Cordovese and a racing donkey are equally scarce). The chacras (or collection of country houses, as they are called) are better worth seeing than Catamarca itself, distant about two or three miles. I was much surprised at the beauty of the place; irrigation had been distributed over a good soil, and I rode for a mile or two amongst running streams fringed with willows, poplars, &c., with walks between garden-walls usually concealing the houses within them, deeply shaded with overhanging flower and fruit trees, oranges, limes, pomegranates, almonds, peaches, plums, apples, &c., interspersed with open vineyards and patches of maize, clover, &c. Cotton also is a staple of the place, but the quantity of which, as well as of the cereals, for want of quicker means of carriage, was always regulated by the last year's consumption, and the probable amount that would be required for the next year for local manufacture in the adjoining country. I rode on as far as the Piedra Blanca, where I found a posada and an elevated place where I could see the whole extent of this oasis-like region, having a population of several thousands, and one which reminded me most

Digitized by Google

forcibly of the suburbs of an eastern city, such as those of Damascus for instance.

There were perhaps forty openings for mines in the neighbourhood of Catamarca: about a dozen of them are for silver; and gold, they told me, was found also. The principal mine is of copper, known as the "Restauradora," the ore yielding some 45 per cent. of copper. I did not think it worth while to visit them, for by doing so, in going northward to La Salta, I should have avoided Tucuman. The way to them lay through the Chacras, then by La Punta, then over a mountain named Pucara. Copiapo, with its celebrated mines, is in a straight line about 225 miles from Catamarca.

July 8, 1854.—Started for Tucuman. Short day's march to Valle Viego; heard there of a boy having been found murdered in the track not far in advance, for the sake of his horse—murderers supposed to have been adventuring gamblers from Cordova. Marched thence to Amadores, a small village, prettily situated under a wooded sierra, and which I reckon to be about thirty-six miles from Catamarca; slept there. Cactus plants very common; three kinds of doves are seen, one about the size of an English blackbird (a dove is considered to add piquancy to the flavour of soup); also woodpeckers with green breast and white head, with a black streak from the eye to the brown back;

Digitized by Google

two birds resembling hedge-sparrows and a linnet; and another brown woodpecker, spotted like a hen-kestrel. Was shown a parasitical plant used as medicine to cure deafness and smallpox. Met some fifty mules laden with figs. Passed Paklin, the residence of Colonel Don Vincente Perez, who had distinguished himself in the civil wars; sketched him. Algeroba-trees larger than I had yet seen. Slept at Sumampa, and the next forenoon arrived at the foot of the Pass of Totoral, which I considered to be about 2,500 feet above the plain—a snowy mountain at the head of the range being at the same time the head of the valley which we were about to quit. Condors were now often visible, and hence to the valley of the Magdalena in New Granada, a quarter of an hour would hardly elapse without one being in sight—perhaps sailing amongst a crowd of turkey-buzzards, like huge men-of-war surrounded by lesser craft. This bird may, I suppose, be considered to be the largest of the vulture tribe, rather exceeding the Himalayan vulture in size, but his neck is much stronger, his shoulders broader, his legs equally thick and longer, and the quill feathers are, I believe, the strongest known. Its average breadth across the wings will be from eight to nine feet: some are twelve; I have been told of one fourteen, and an Englishman assured me, seriously, that he had killed one on the seacoast

Digitized by Google

(where they are said to be the largest, in consequence of the quantity of animal food they find on the beach) of sixteen feet in width. Some certainly appear to be very much larger than others. After gorging themselves with the carcass of a mule or horse, and sitting as usual with their wings half-expanded, they may be killed with a long stout stick. I know no flight which, in my opinion, is so beautiful as that of the condor. It is more so than that of the Himalayan vulture, or the eagle, sweeping round and round in large circles without a motion of the wings for two or three minutes, and then only once or twice, and realizing the poetry of the

"Multa Dircæum levat aura cygnum"

better than the swan itself or any other bird, excepting, perhaps, the crane or stork. They often skim with swiftness near the mountain path, and are said to exhibit great sagacity in swooping in rapid succession at a string of mules where the pathway is most narrow, so as to cause one to fall over. I have long entertained an idea that a framework of bamboo or wicker-work, uniting strength with lightness, might be drawn through the air by means of nine or twelve of these birds, each one separately harnessed to a sufficiently strong bamboo slip some four feet in length, and firmly fixed to the under surface of the carriage or framework, and

Digitized by Google

dropped perpendicularly from it and resting on a small saddle braced round the neck and behind the wing, so that each bird would be independent of the others, and with sufficient room; the ærial Jehu, to be secured above, to drive, raise, depress, and turn the animals by means of reins and pulleys, with sharp points and blinkers, &c., applied to the head and beak, if found necessary. There can be no doubt of the lifting power, and those who have at all studied the habits of the condor say that they evince a knowledge of and attachment to those who feed them, and are not the savage animals one might suppose them to be, if regularly supplied with food. Why should not some of them be harnessed so as to drag a light carriage along an iron tramway and be fed at the end of the journey? Or perhaps they might be used as auxiliaries to a properly shaped balloon. The first experiments might be made by means of ropes and rings running on an elevated tight-rope. It would be necessary that some one resident in the country should make the first essay, and I think his perseverance would most probably be rewarded with success.

The Pass of Totoral is not a severe one; the summit is a ridge of open undulating down-like hills. I dismounted to sketch and take some bearings from the highest point near the track; my horse, whom I had unbitted to allow him

Digitized by Google

to graze, would not let me catch him again, and whilst I was beginning to think I should have to leave him and continue my way on foot, a peasant came from a distance to assist me, and instantly threw his scarf over the horse's eyes, tying it under the chin—a practice which is always adopted in loading a mule, quieting the most restive while loading, although perhaps he will start off and kick the cargo to pieces the moment the bandage is withdrawn. The ridge, which is a spur of the Aconquija range, bore N.W. and S.E. The city of Tucuman, not visible, lay to the N.E., Catamarca bearing in exactly the opposite direction. The view of the province of Tucuman, so named after Tucumanhayo, the chief of the country, when the Spaniards first knew it, as seen from the pass had all the beauty that an interminable and unbroken plain could derive from wood and verdure blended into the blue of the horizon. In imagination, as in reality, it is extended to the Rio Salado and the Gran Chaco, bounded only by the Vermejo and the Paraguay. It was most refreshing to look upon after the parched and dusty plains of Catamarca; and the temperature, which at noon had usually been that of a sultry English summer's day, was deliciously refreshing as we descended, breathing an air perfumed by what I took to be the wild sage, and pitched our tents near a brook by the roadside.

Digitized by Google

July 11.—Our way led us through some beautiful forest scenery, a composition of large trees, green open glades, and clear streams. I noticed a fruit like an apple; a blue and chocolate coloured butterfly; a species of owl; a curlew with black wings, grey back, and yellow neck, named Pandoras, which now became very common; a blue titmouse, and numerous biscachos; and we halted for the night at Acocha, a pretty open village. Arrived there alone in advance of the mules; procured some water at a cottage, and made tea with the tin apparatus in my saddle-bags. Had shot a large partridge or quail; saw a reddish-brown woodpecker. At the cottage noticed a cross-bred hound; got him to follow me into the open plain, where he put up quails for me so well that I bought him of the woman for a dollar, intending him to follow with the mules: she called him Pezaflor (so light of foot as not to crush a flower), but her sons took him away at night, and I never saw him afterwards, losing the money also. Shot a coral-snake on the plain about thirty inches long, with coral-coloured rings regularly alternating with nearly black ones, each about two inches long. Do not know whether it be the same as described by Byam in his "Central America," whose bite is almost immediately fatal. Passed two small streams, the Natchez or Rio Chico, and a few miles further crossed the Medina

Digitized by Google

river. The country now resembled a beautiful open park, with acacia-trees at intervals—noticed ducks and other water-birds—little scarlet waders with a black neck; bird like a mocking-bird, with a white edge to its tail, and a white streak down the wing. Cactus hedges and orange groves. The even-topped ridge of Aconquija—being the first snowy range I had seen, estimated at about 14,000 feet above the plain*—was now rising majestically on the left. As far as I could judge by its colour and appearance through a telescope, I should say its summit was of red granite. New snow fell on it in the night, and fronted the morning sun with its brilliantly glistening outline against the blue sky. Aconquija is reported to be very rich in mineral productions, particularly silver. Sir W. Parish says that he has seen some very beautiful specimens of the ore. The difficulty and cost of transport operates as usual against any mining operations on a large scale; but a loop line could (and no doubt will) be constructed up to the very foot of the range from "The Great Northern," which at no distant period will traverse the Argentine Republic up to the very declivities of the Bolivian plateau. It is extremely probable that the Indians would be aware of much more than they would at first

* Marked as 16,000 feet above the sea in Sir W. Parish's work.

Digitized by Google

disclose. They believe the mountain is, like themselves, jealous of intrusion; and if any stranger on an ore-hunting expedition is overtaken by a storm, they are inclined to attribute it to interference resulting from non-approval, and remark that "La sierra le desconoce" (the mountain refuses to recognize him). Whilst the coloured man with the smallest admixture of European blood considers himself and is considered by the pure negro as rather his superior, the lower classes of the Argentine Republic generally pride themselves on the comparative purity of their Indian blood, which does not argue well for any hereditary respect for their conquerors. Slept at Famaya, a very pretty village, with a picturesque chapel in the centre of the green and the fine sierra behind it to the westward—civil and obliging people. Seven miles to Monteros, a large place; country generally open; 1,500 inhabitants. Passed two rivers in the way. It was either at the first one we crossed or at a stream beyond Monteros that we were detained by its precipitous and muddy banks, which the laden mules had the greatest difficulty in crossing. The Germans quarrelled, and two of them were nearly firing at each other, but we contrived to pacify them. The then governor of Tucuman had been a curate at Monteros. Shot some ducks. We watched the mules at night for fear of their being stolen.

Digitized by Google

There are people in these countries who make a business of tracking stolen mules, though often, of course, combining their occupation with commercial pursuits. I was informed that their recollection of the footmarks of a stolen mule was marvellous; that they would follow it slowly, but surely, for months and even years, losing it altogether for a time, and then suddenly and unexpectedly hitting off the scent again in some very distant market. There perseverance is rewarded by the law—necessary in these countries, where mule and horse stealing is only checked by vigilance—which enables the owner of a stolen animal to seize it at once wherever it is found, without waiting for an action to decide upon any question of intervening purchase.

The city of Tucuman is about eight leagues from Famaya. In the way I observed ferns, bromelias, and a yellow apple known as Laconte. The forest became thicker, the trees larger, and I noticed one with the bark like the hickory, with a long pointed leaf—red-winged buzzard. City visible for several miles on a slight eminence in the blue line, at the extremity of the vast verdant plain, as a white streak, with white steeples rising out of it. The broad track was running N.E. to it as straight as an arrow, with beautiful turf on either side. The scene over which the afternoon rays were slanting was very enlivening and thoroughly pastoral, the sierra

Digitized by Google

on the left, sinking to the northern horizon beyond the city. Herds of cattle, sheep, horses, mules, goats, &c., and a few farmhouses were scattered over the country, their owners (on horseback of course) wandering and often galloping among them. A string of mules, laden with oranges and other fruits, corn, tobacco, sugar, &c., for neighbouring places in the provinces, were frequently met with; whilst occasionally the creaking of the huge Tucuman cart-wheels, the bellowing of the cattle, and the voices of their drivers betokened a journey to Buenos Ayres, of something over a thousand miles, and an absence of the best part of the year. Sir W. Parish has given a full account of the time and expense connected with these expeditions, and my own inquiries were in every way confirmatory of their accuracy.

July 16 (mid-winter).—I entered Tucuman (where the independence of the La Plata provinces was first solemnly declared in 1816) through its sunny gardens and orange groves late on a clear bright afternoon, with a temperature much like that of the same day of the year in England: the distance about sixty-five leagues; time, eight days from Catamarca; the highest part of whose sierra bore 10° W. of S. from the Cabildo in the plaza. Lodged in the market-place. The gay poncho and felt hat and the picturesque appointments of the mounted

Digitized by Google

Guachos or Mamelucos (Mameluks), with their prize silver spurs, mingling with the groups of women in blue and red cloaks gracefully adjusted, wearing nothing on their head, and their jet-black hair always hanging behind in two long plaits, were rather enviable subjects for a sketch. And I was here enabled to examine the carts. Two wheels as high as a man on horseback, with a stout rough-hewn branch to act as a drag—of obvious use in a country where the depth of the streams depends so much upon the actual state of the weather. The waggon itself is also deep enough for a man to stand upright in. A framework of strong wood, with the panelling formed of light reeds, the top roof-shaped with gable-ends, and through which fore and aft is passed the long bamboo with which the leading cattle are managed, is the only description of carriage, excepting those in use for mining and agricultural purposes. I do not think that anything like a gentleman's carriage is to be found throughout the whole distance between Buenos Ayres and Lima; in the towns they would be nearly useless, and the roads outside are too bad for them. The Hon. R. C. Bruce, then lately our envoy in Bolivia, and now in China, wishing to see the Argentine Republic in his way home, had one of these waggons either built or converted into a comfortable room, and travelled in it down to Buenos Ayres, where it was to be seen

Digitized by Google

as a curiosity; and, if time were of no great consequence, a better plan could not have been adopted. A good baggage mule may be bought for fifteen or twenty dollars. A good riding mule or a serviceable horse will cost more, though not so much as a first-rate mule. One indeed will often be valued at forty, fifty, or even a larger sum; and a stranger is constantly advised to buy good ones, on the assurance that he will be able to sell them at an increased price: this however in no one instance did I find to be the truth, though perhaps a native would manage better. A spare mule or two is always of use, as scarcely a day passes without some annoyance and delay caused by the mules' backs becoming galled. The Persian *maffrushes*, two huge saddle-bags into which everything is put, appear to me to be excellently planned; but, nevertheless, really good scientifically London-made wooden frames, resting on pads, and on which the baggage is tied, would I think only require to be known to be bought up eagerly in Buenos Ayres. One long package only on either side is better than several small ones. The Arriero begins to grumble directly anything he never heard of is to be tied on here and there; my own small tin pail and bath (*chillumchee*, orientally) were, I remember, particularly annoying, and I heard one of them cursing such useless "porqueria." A light travelling bedstead

Digitized by Google

is of great service in these countries, where ground vermin are so numerous, and sheets made up like a large loose bag will keep out everything excepting fleas. The necessity of having every covering made of waterproof material is too obvious to need further remark. Saddle-bags should be made of waterproof leather. The Guacho, with his hat covered with oilskin, a thick poncho, and over-all trousers made of goatskin, with the hair pointing downwards, can ride his whole journey in the hardest rain without being wet. His saddle is often his pillow, his bed the blanket he has used as a pad under the saddle, and the never absent lasso is employed if necessary in tethering his horse. The Tucumano, in this garden of the Argentine Republic, is almost as independent a character as the Turkoman in the deserts of Central Asia. The city has of course its plaza, its cathedral, and about 10,000 inhabitants.

It was in a march in these provinces—I think, in Tucuman—that we overtook the mules, which had been halted in consequence of a report of robbers, and we saw some horsemen apparently watching us from the edge of the forest on a rising ground, about half a mile off to the right; but no attack was made. I have no doubt that people in the habit of passing to and from any place would assuredly be waylaid sooner or later,

Digitized by Google

but in regular marching in one direction there is but little ordinary risk. I have constantly ridden for many hours, and quite alone, after having been separated from the mules, by leaving the track for a sketch or a chance shot. Had a large fish, probably the dorado, on table for breakfast; could not believe it was caught, as they said it was, in the shallow river (Tala) near the town: it had probably been sent up from near its junction with the Rio Dulce.

A Frenchman, who had come up the country in connection with mining arrangements, and had a store in the city, came to call upon us; said that trade generally had never been so brisk; knew a good deal about the different mines that were or ought to have been worked; that one, called the Mina Ricca, was discovered only about two months previously, and that it was worked regularly by means of a shaft, but there were only eight men at work there at present. This Mina Ricca was, I think, the new silver mine which Captain Gore had advised me to visit, in the vale of Tafi, about twenty leagues from Tucuman, adding that it would be worth my while to do so.

Had a bit of silver ore given me, and also a specimen from the Restauradora, near Catamarca, as already noticed, with about forty-five per cent. of copper in it. There are many other spots known, but not worked for want of capital,

Digitized by Google

and the country near Santa Maria, near the mines, was said to be full of copper. Gypsum and alumina are found in the lowest range of the sierra of Tucuman, kaolin or porcelain clay in the second, and the uppermost is composed of granite.

Flour, I learnt from the Frenchman, was selling at from eleven to fourteen reals the arroba—*i.e.* about 6s. for 25 lb. The value of an arroba of sugar was about 2s. 6d., but the cost of carriage to Rosario increased it to thirty reals,—about 12s. or 13s.

I visited one of the principal sugar plantations in the neighbourhood, and its owner was very proud of an English crushing machine he had lately received and was then occupied in putting up. Our very intelligent French friend was of course asked to join us at dinner, and seemed to enjoy himself with his glass of brandy and water before him and society that was so unusual to him; laughed, talked, and sang gaily, gave us numerous anecdotes, and finally wanted to sing us a song (I use his own words) about "Jesus Christ," which, however, we declined to call for.

The social day at Tucuman is passed much as it is elsewhere in these countries, subject of course to a few local causes of difference. Every one rises early; maté is drunk; no regular toilet until about noon, for shopping or morning calls. Women busy themselves with household duties,

Digitized by Google

preparing the dinner, or attending to the shop. Education is going on. Guitar playing, I was informed, is less universal, as pianos have been introduced. The men are early in their stores or their *estancias* or farms, or loading their mules with produce. Any reading or studying is of course carried on as elsewhere, but all meet for the early or mid-day dinner, and take their siesta, and then go out to see and be seen, or drop in to a friend's house for chat and music and dancing, maté, lemonade, &c. The national dance of the Republic is the same as at Buenos Ayres.

Commercial men are often absent for days, weeks, or months, but if in the neighbourhood, are always at home for dinner and supper. It was in a wild and very dusty track in Tucuman that I suddenly missed one of the hammers from my gun, rarely out of my hands; and twice in the same day I had to go back for it, and had the good fortune to pick it up from the dust. The screw was broken, and I was agreeably surprised to find some French screws in Tucuman, from which a native gunsmith made me another perfectly serviceable. Called on the governor, Don Jose Campo, and got my passport *viséd*, and at about 6 A.M. began the long ascent of the Tapia range, a spur of the larger sierra. Splendid morning. Met several groups of peasants riding, two women on one horse-cart

Digitized by Google

with oranges. Plant resembling a juniper or yew-tree. White bird very frequent; chunias calling in all directions. Chalk, or more probably a trachytic formation, indicated by its colour some distance on the left of the track. Long slopes more indented than in similar scenery in the Himalaya. Green parrots, forests of mimosas, algerobas, &c. Plant like English broom. Found the Germans encamped in the wood by the roadside, where there was no water, under a tree bearing an inscription informing travellers that there was buried a man who was "knifed" after he had lost his horse. Slept there. Beautiful ride through an open pass in the way to Tranja. Heard of an owl in the forest with eyes of fire. Had ridden by myself the whole day, and thought it was well to show my passport to the Alcalde. Mr. Hickman came up late, and Mr. B—— lost himself again, but came up next morning. Met twenty-seven cart-loads of hides going down the country to Rosario. For a notice of the terrible earthquakes to which these countries are subject *vide* Sir W. Parish, page 275.

July 22.—Marched on towards Salta. Met troops of bullocks coming from that province and going to San Juan, Chili being their ultimate destination. They cost about ten dollars apiece at Salta, and would be worth forty in Chili. They would all be slung up and shod before

Digitized by Google

crossing the Corderilla. Passed open ford of the Tala River. A mountain shaped like a volcano on the left. Large Marsh Condors. Slept at Arenal. After leaving Tranja passed an immense open space on the plain, with long grass; twenty to thirty miles in extent. Ostriches very numerous; fifty or sixty in sight. Mimosas in clumps, and a tree like the yew, and a kind of holly with a diamond-shaped leaf. On part of highest range in the sierra on the left I observed what, from its dark colour and peculiar outline, I could not but think was a trap-formation. Stopped at Rosario on a Sunday; pretty village. Showed passport again to the Alcalde, who conducted us very civilly to an encamping place on his own property. Shot ducks for dinner—two small ducks with an olive-coloured back, green and white wings, and red legs; also another bird with a red back and dusky breast. A large green wild duck, very fat, and very like the common Muscovy duck, proved to be of most excellent flavour; it seemed to be the only wild duck considered worth cooking in these countries. Afterwards some natives came and sang to the guitar. A block of red sandstone by the stream containing quartz crystals. Our host's name was Saturnus Cornejo. His uncle, when governor of Salta, discovered the secret pathway in the forest by which Indians from the Gran Chaco

Digitized by Google

used to escape to the Esquina (corner or bend) in the river Vermejo after hostile incursions. The Indian track is marked in Sir W. Parish's work.

Arrived at Yatasco, eight leagues from Rosario, and about halfway to Salta from Tucuman, the former place being still about forty-four leagues in advance.

Yatasco—an old Tuscan-roofed house with an old chapel; old woman, who knew the Englishman who descended the Vermejo with Soria (Mr. Cresser, I presume, mentioned by Sir W. Parish. Oran). Large tipa-trees; wood tough, and good for carts. Another called păcăra; with the leaf, pod, and wood together, a lather may be formed to be used in cleaning woollen cloth. The tipa is also known as the "dragon's blood," a red sap exuding when a twig is broken. Near the roadside saw a large cedar plank three feet six inches broad, fourteen inches thick, and twelve feet long. It had been cut, and floated down from the sierra. Passed the Rio de las Piedras, a small stream, after a march of about eight leagues, and then encamped at Rio Blanco.

July 26.—Arrived at the Rio Salado, known here as the Rio Pasage, larger than any we had seen. The river at Salta runs into it, and it finally joins the Parana opposite to the city of that name. It comes from a gorge lying W.S.W. of the ferry, which it passes running east. Of six kinds of fish, two, the dorado and the săbălo,

Digitized by Google

attain a large size; one is smaller, only about fifteen inches in length. Saw small spiral shells, and a white snail-shell with red edges, 4½ inches long.

Encamped about four leagues north of the Pasage, from which latter place it is twenty-six leagues to Salta. No water. Next day arrived at Cobos. Tasted guerapa for the first time—made with equal parts of the fermenting sugar-cane juice and water; considered to be a cooling and wholesome beverage. Saw the borracho (the drunkard) tree, so called from its swollen stem, as if filled with liquor. The wood is soft, and easily scooped out for troughs, tubs, &c.

Mr. Hickman had pushed on to Salta, going direct to Oran, and his men had carried off my shot. Colonel Don Felice Martinez, at whose house we had passed the night, sent an express after them for it. I had laid in twelve pounds of Curtis and Harvey at Buenos Ayres for merely shooting on the way to Lima, and had enough and a little to spare when I arrived there. Any one making an ornithological collection would, I suppose, require more. Sketched the Colonel's portrait, and presented it to him as a compliment for his kindness. Capital coffee. Argument with the priest on the subject of free-will; talked Hobbes to him. People going to mass in the morning, many of them pretty and well-dressed women. Went out to look for guernaco—unsuccessful.

Digitized by Google

Saw a bird closely resembling the common English blackcap titmouse.

July 28.—Arrived at Salta. Mr. Hickman, who had gone on to Oran, ordered a room to be twice cleared out for me, but it still contained plenty of fleas. The posada was the property of Señor Uruburu, brother to the governor of Oran. The situation of Salta is pretty enough, but is said not to be very healthy, on account of its liability to miasma from the stagnation of water left by the swollen torrents on the mountain which rise over it to the northward. To the south the country is open. The river, which is a feeder of the Pasage, was, if I remember aright, everywhere fordable, but large open and bared spaces told its volume and power during a flood.

Salta, which witnessed the retreat of the last Spanish royalist forces, contains about 10,000 people. The episcopate includes the province of Jujuy, Santiago, Tucuman, and Catamarca; seven churches, including three belonging to different convents. One of them, San Francisco, was founded in 1759. No college, for want of funds. Some good shops, and busy aspect of principal streets. A plaza, cathedral, and cabildo; senate and deputados, as usual; and the management of public affairs is vested in the governor (then Don Miguel Francisco Araoz), his minister, and the chief of police. There is a supreme court, or Camera de Justitia, for appeal in both civil and

Digitized by Google

Walton, lith.

Hanhart, Imp

CALLE, SAN FRANCISCO.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

criminal cases, and a Corporacion de Beneficios for the management of schools and public charities. There is also a "Tribunale de Comercio."

A fat ox is worth, as at Tucuman, from 14 to 18 dollars; an ordinary horse from 10 to 30 dollars; a mule about 15 or 20. Wheat flour is ground at Molinos, about forty leagues from Salta, and sent to Tucuman: about 7,000 arrobas in the present year.

The distance from Copiapo to Salta is reckoned to be rather over 470 miles in a straight line. It passes through part of Catamarca *viá* Santa Maria and Belen. The shorter way, by Molinos and the Corderilla of the Laguna Verde, is reckoned at 214 leagues. The distance from Salta to Buenos Ayres is about 1,300 miles. The Salteños boast that they have the finest cockpit between Lima and Buenos Ayres. I saw 700 or 800 people there, and large sums were changing hands. After a battle the surviving birds are hot-bathed, by being buried up to their necks in the corral, where the soil is, of course, much mixed with horsedung, and the most desperate spur-wounds are cured by a decoction from the macerated leaves of a plant known as *Yerba de polla.* I used to dine occasionally at the fonda or posada, where there was a billiard-table; and the game of Tava, played with knuckle-bones, was worth watching on account of the great skill displayed. Amongst the company

Digitized by Google

was a young Irishman, who had come up from Buenos Ayres and set up as a chemist, and there were two or three Frenchmen and Germans. At Salta also I found Mr. Ledger, who was residing there whilst making arrangements for his highly enterprising plan for transporting alpacas to Australia. He had a flock of several hundred of them in the Western Corderilla, and was waiting for an opportunity to ship them off; and, after being a witness to the annoying intelligence he was constantly receiving of repeated losses, I confess that I did not feel very sanguine about the success of the scheme, which nothing but the most resolute and meritorious perseverance could ever have enabled him to carry out. I have seen guernacos or wild llamas in the hot plains of Catamarca and the elevated plateau near Oruro, in Bolivia. Vecunas seem to be confined to elevated and open plains, and the alpaca (so I was informed and had observed), curiously enough, thrives best in a temperate climate, and prefers a pasturage among jutting rocks in meadowy and marshy districts. I saw a few llamas, for the first time, at Salta. One of the prisons was entered from the plaza, and there was an old brass gun and a single sentry on guard to prevent the escape of the prisoners, four of whom were constantly showing their unwashed faces at the same number of holes in the large wooden bolted door which shut them

Digitized by Google

in, so that they were thus enabled to converse with any friend that chose to come and see them. A similar scene may be viewed in, I believe, each of the cities; but I was warned not to be too curious or remain near them without relieving them, as they sometimes take a fearful revenge by quietly blowing a paperful of vermin over an incautious spectator. I was at Salta in the month of August, and on the 12th the thermometer stood at 60° Faht. in the shade, and 90° in the sun at noon, so that it was not much hotter than the Highlands of Scotland. I often went out shooting, and got my four or five brace of partridges (ortyx), and a few snipe or ducks, on cultivated and open ground within a few miles of the town. At Molinos, already mentioned, near the foot of the hills, running water does not usually freeze, which would give it a temperature equal to that of the South of France, or that of Kashmir in ordinary winters. The weather is, of course, much hotter in the summer months; and in the province of Santiago del Estero the heat is sometimes as great as that of Egypt. Heard of a plant called zecondillo, whose leaves and flowers give a red dye, and that borax was found in the district of Tarapaca. Pleurisy is a very common disease in this part of the country. The natives mix two spoonfuls of salt in three of oil, and drink the mixture warm as an emetic before going to bed as a remedy. There is also

Digitized by Google

a complaint called "costago," attended with pain under the left lung and great difficulty of breathing.

August 16.—Left Salta for Oran on the Vermejo. The direct road northward through Bolivia passes through Jujuy, which I thus avoided, wishing rather to visit Tarija, so celebrated for the fossil remains found there. I heard of Jujuy as being very prettily situated between two streams, but that in other respects there was nothing peculiar to it. It is the northernmost city of the Argentine Republic. "It cost the Spaniards," says Sir W. Parish, "many a hard battle ere they could call themselves masters of this position, known as La Garganta, or throat of Peru;" and he adds, that "the Indians of Humahuaca more than once drove the Spaniards from their first settlements and cut off their communications with their countrymen in Peru."

La Valle, one of the Centralista generals, met his death at Jujuy from a chance shot (?) after a defeat by Oribe; and another of them, La Madrid, was forced to take refuge in the Corderilla, and perished in the snow. Guernacos, vecunas, and chinchillas are very numerous in the mountain districts north of Salta and Jujuy, where the elevated plateau of Bolivia commences from the south, and the skins of the latter are sent down in great numbers to Buenos Ayres.

Upon leaving Salta I arrived late at a sugar

Digitized by Google

estancia. I carried an introduction to the family, consisting of a large party of ladies and one elderly gentleman, who seemed to be father, grandfather, uncle, and cousin of or to all of them individually. He requested me, when we were alone, to tell him my age, adding in a patronising undervoice, "Digame en confianza, señor," and this serious question having been answered, I was not a little amused to overhear him, when at dinner, quietly imparting his information, "en confianza," to the ladies who were sitting near him.

The track continued through the forest to the north-east. Passed Betani, about nine leagues from Salta. It joins the river Jujuy at a point where the latter is flowing in a general direction to N.N.E., and its junction with the Vermejo below Oran. Its bed, like other rivers in the district, is covered with rounded boulders. Campo Santo village bore also about N.N.E. from Betani. I observed several sugar plantations interspersed with orange groves; soil said to be very productive. One part of the forest was remarkable for its gloom. A number of very large trees most gloomily overshadowed a thick underwood, a very avernus-like place, in which were numerous springs and black deep pools, containing (so my muleteers informed me) very large fish, and plenty of yacares or alligators. Water-birds of different species were also

Digitized by Google

frequently to be seen by the river-side. Country open, and undulating, with underwood. High, very dark-coloured precipitous ridge on the right. Large boracho-trees, their smooth, swollen, and ungainly stems being greater in the girth than at the roots or the offset of the branches. Mimosas and prickly pear were common in the forest. Saw a young wild hog (peccary) at a cottage, a wiry and active-looking animal. Between Campo Santo and Pampa Blanco, about five leagues from the former, is an estancia where there is a natural hot bath. Slept at the latter place, a pretty open spot with a maize farm or hacienda, with sugar-cane fields and a good dwelling-house: noticed also a large patch of green wheat. The boundary line between Salta and Jujuy runs just to the north of this place.

August 18.—Boracho-trees still larger, and the hanging moss very common; white bird, perhaps the bell-bird, in the distance; no breeze, and the forest perfumed with a round yellow flower; saw a small blue bird and a flame-coloured creeper. Crossed the Rio San Pedro, the river from Jujuy running there E.N.E.; open bed covered with a shingle of boulders. High cliff contrasting beautifully with the verdure beneath it. Green parrots with red tails; bromelias. Hacienda of San Pedro was worth, it was said, 9,000 dollars (?) a year to

Digitized by Google

its owner after all expenses were paid. The sugar not consumed in the vicinity is sent for sale to Salta and Jujuy. Here were the first wild Indians I had seen, known as Matacos or Mataguayos, who inhabit the Gran Chaco and the upper bank of the Vermejo: a tribe known as the Tobas live on the lower right bank. The great generic name of the Indians and their language in these countries is Guerani. "At Santiago," says Sir W. Parish, "the Quichua, or language of the Incas of Peru, is first met with" by a traveller going northward.

When the sugar harvest comes on in August, the most neighbouring Indians arrive in numbers to be hired as labourers, receiving twelve reals (about 6s.) a month, with some clothing and their food. Some of them came into the yard of the hacienda when I was there, and two of them stood to be sketched. Small men, but wild looking as figures, with long hair, wearing tunics of striped cotton, and a sort of cape with a rope girdle, the arms and legs being left bare; sandals on the feet with leathern soles. One wore an old wide-awake hat, the other had a bandana fitted round his head; one armed with a lance with a tuft of red feathers at the top of the blade, the other a six-foot bow and long arrows. Asked him to shoot at something, and he drove an arrow through an orange on the tree whilst standing within a yard of it, a feat

Digitized by Google

which the others applauded; but they had begun to get a little riotous, and were turned out. One, however, a young man, returned a short time afterwards and continued to importune my host for some spirits, and being met with a refusal, fell on both knees to ask for it, but without success. They would have been dangerous if tipsy: they prefer brandy and clothes to money. I asked about their religious opinions, and was told that they knew nothing and believed nothing that amounted to a fixed idea in connection with a future state.

Of the timber in the forest I was told that cabrachos, white and red, the latter sometimes five feet in diameter, were the hardest woods for mill-work, and also lapacho, a red wood not so hard. I soon learned to distinguish these trees. Oran was still fifty leagues distant. Saw a bird resembling a linnet or yellowhammer, and a white woodpecker with a black back. Arrived at the place known as Soria's Estancia, so named after the bold Frenchman who descended the Vermejo, and was made prisoner by Francia when his boat had entered the Paraguay. By going there I had avoided two other streams on my way to Oran. I was furnished with an introduction, and was most kindly received by his daughter, La Señora Candelaria, an elderly and very ladylike person, where I found, in the very heart of South America, a neatly furnished and

Digitized by Google

clean house, standing, as in Europe, in the midst of a small park, with single trees (occasionally flooded by the Rio Negro), most comfortable quarters, and an excellent dinner off plate, contrasting most favourably in every respect with the table arrangements of a native country house, which was often a very rapid scrambling affair, the guests sometimes moving from their places to help themselves to a particular dish, and there are not always glasses enough for each person; in fact, nothing at all comfortable, with however a hearty welcome, and often one or two pretty Spaniards with eyes that covered a multitude of sins. In the towns, of course, a nearer approach to proprieties was observable, and one was only surprised at a discrepancy of customs. There is, as in England, no sitting to have an extra glass of wine after the ladies have retired, and a toast to the health of himself, as a guest, may surprise one of the company in the middle of dinner. Maté, chocolate, or coffee, were everywhere served with all the care that could be wished for, as is generally the case with any national dainty when offered to a stranger. I am not aware of any solid viand that is peculiar to these countries, unless it be Spanish "puchero." In Mexico they have their small black beans and a most excellent dish called "molé," of boiled meat flavoured with a rich hot sauce; but the quantity of peppers, &c.,

Digitized by Google

with which in these countries (Peru and Bolivia for instance) they always dress a stew, a very general dish, is quite appalling, and a nuisance to those not accustomed to it, it being hotter than a curry, without being able to claim the merit of being so wholesome. The Señora obliged me with a short outline of her father's history, which, like that of M. Bonpland, has always been of interest in these countries. He was a Frenchman, and in the year 1814 or 1815 he came up the country to Bolivia, then known as Upper Peru. His real name (which she wrote down for me) was Charticar, he having changed it to that of "Soria" for some political reasons. He subsequently came to the Rio Negro, and projected the descent of the Vermejo river in 1823. He commenced the descent in 1826 with a boat, twenty-three yards long, six feet in width, and drawing only three feet of water. He embarked at his own estancia, and dropped down the Rio Negro in four canoes in May, 1826, and arrived at the Vermejo in eleven days (on the 18th of June). Such was the Señora's account. He was accompanied by an Englishman named Cresser. The moment they had entered the great river they were hailed from the opposite shore of Paraguay with "Que venga, el padrone, a tierra," and Soria having complied with the orders, was detained five years a prisoner. The Señora informed me that he after-

Digitized by Google

wards went to Corrientes, and subsequently again to the Rio Negro; and that when during the civil wars Oribe halted at Tucuman (in 1842), and Andrade was marching on to Jujuy as his general, the governor there denounced Soria as a decided Unitarian (*i.e.*, advocate of the supremacy of Buenos Ayres) in his politics; and that Andrade thereupon sent to have him beheaded by an officer, who hesitated to execute his orders on account of Soria's age, and merely took him to Andrade, who allowed him to go home; and that he died in 1851, at, I think, the estancia where his daughter was my hostess. Mr. Hickman's descent of the Vermejo is the fourth upon record. Soria's descent was the third. There was one in 1778 by Murillo, and another in 1790 by Cornejo, a Salteno. *Vide* Sir W. Parish's work for particulars, and also for an account of Francia and the state, &c., of Paraguay, as compiled by him in connection with the account of Colonel Graham, the United States Minister at Buenos Ayres. Certainly no one, excepting perhaps a savage like the King of Dahomey, ever carried out *l'état c'est moi* idea with more unflinching pertinacity than Dr. Francia. The accounts of his tyranny would be scarcely credible if not known from an authority that cannot be doubted. The frequent use of the words *compadre* and *commadre*, when Spanish Americans are addressing each other, cannot fail to attract the observa-

Digitized by Google

tion of an Englishman: any two persons who are godfathers or godmothers to the same child usually adopt this mode of salutation to each other. The term, however, is often used at a venture when it is wished to commence a friendly conversation, as it is usual to attract attention at a strange hut in the forest by using the words "Ave Maria" as a friendly salutation. It is not considered right to refuse an application to become compadre or commadre; and by way of securing temporal as well as spiritual good at the same time, it is made so frequently that the same individual may be compadre or commadre to fifty or a hundred children. The relative position of the two persons is considered to confer a claim to mutual good offices, scarcely exceeded, if indeed equalled, in strength by the ties of actual relationship. The Señora kindly gave me an introduction to a compadre whose residence was two days' march distant, with a particular request that he would do his best to assist me in my visit to a pitch lake which I had heard of when inquiring for natural curiosities, and situated beyond the verge of civilization. Sir W. Parish has a map, by Mr. Cresser or Soria, in which it is marked.

Having enjoyed the hospitality of the governor of Salta (Don Miguel Francesco Araoz) at an estancia belonging to him, and to which he had been so good as to give me an introduction, I made

Digitized by Google

the best of my way to the residence of Don Lucas Gil, the Señora's compadre, and rode for about fifteen miles in a forest path, fording the Rio Grande where it was running S.W. by N.E., and about 200 yards in width, the ford being at about one day's march to Oran, had I been going there direct. Saw a gigantic stork, or crane, in a lagune, white, with black and red head, which I thought looked larger than the East Indian "sarus." My host, the Señora's compadre, was very kind and hospitable. He wore a wide-awake hat with red ribbons, and a white jacket, and said he would himself show me the way to the Laguna de Brea, or Pitch Lake, twelve leagues due east of his estancia, which consisted of a low, long thatched dwelling-house with two or three tolerably comfortable rooms, a verandah, two or three sheds and outhouses for stables, in one of which, as is usual in India and other hot climates, was the kitchen, with dried meat hanging over a rope near it. These were disposed round a bare, open space, some fifty or sixty yards across, and surrounded by mimosa, and other trees, and in which were horses, mules, dogs, chickens, &c.: there was also a small garden. Country round, flat and covered with forest. In our ride I noticed the cabracho blanco, and patches of rose colour upon the lapacho-trees. A decoction of the former—I forget which part—is said to be drunk

Digitized by Google

as a bitter tonic. Saw *paras* or pheasants (*Penelope*) in the distance, lilac coloured and white flower of a plant resembling the indigo, known as santa rosa; also the *tasi*, a fruit like a lemon filled with cotton down. Noticed a blackbird with white tip to the tail, much resembling a magpie; large white snail-shell; passed a *puesta*, or cattle-shed, and pen, in the forest, where the cattle are sheltered at night; small red fuchsia. Arrived at lake near an open space called San Miguel, round, and about half a mile in diameter, five miles from a second puesta; shot wild ducks, saw bandulias—halted to eat. The compadre eat part of a huge mandioca root he had brought with him. One league further to the north is another lake called San Salito, another league to the hot salt lake known as Laguna Caliente. The valley running north, the Sierra; that of San Miguel, of no great height, visible over the forest to the eastward; about five others intervening between it and the opposite low range of Santa Babara, on the other side of which is the Gran Chaco, or Great Plain. About five miles from the Laguna San Miguel I passed a small stream, the Tomero. Slept at the puesta near the Laguna.

August 23.—Glorious morning. Proceeded on to the hot spring at the edge of a small lake in the forest, about 400 yards across, lying under a limestone cliff; water very salt; its temperature

Digitized by Google

at the spring was 128° Fahr., atmosphere 76°, the sky having become cloudy. Strong smell of sulphur, and the soil around red as if burnt, and containing alum; a sulphurous and yellow scum on the edge of the spring. On the lake were ducks and wild swans, uttering peculiar and not unmusical notes from their pipe-like necks, which I put down in my note-book as "singing;" it somewhat resembled the prolonged note of the Æolian harp, with only a small portion of its sweetness. About a league in advance over this volcanic region we arrived at the Laguna de Brea, a lake of not very clear water, of about a mile or thereabouts in extent, amongst wooded hills, seemingly covering a surface of bitumen, of which there was a large space bared at the eastern end; the edges were hardened and cracked by the sun, but further from the shore it seemed too soft to venture upon. I found there a large white shell and the slot of a tapir. The Governor of Oran told me he had once sent a quantity of the bitumen to Salta for building and paving purposes, but that it was not valued. We had been obliged to leave our horses in the narrow path, and make our way through the thicket on foot, and returned to them after a fatiguing scramble of about twenty minutes. We afterwards met a peasant on horseback, followed by seven or eight curs, with whose assistance he had tracked and managed to shoot a

Digitized by Google

tapir, the legs and feet dangling from the skin packed upon the back of another horse; and, in cantering back towards the puesta, where we were to pass the night, I rode over (without touching him) a frog about as large as a middling sized trussed chicken. Noticed a grey hawk with the flight of a falcon.

My kind host and guide, the Señora's compadre, here took leave of me, and I continued my journey towards Oran, sleeping that night on the ground inside the fence at the puesta de Santarata, the first we had seen in our way to the Pitch Lake, which lay about seven leagues to the westward, Oran lying due north.

August 24.—Marched the whole day through thick forest to Paso la Granadito, where were two or three huts in a more open country.

August 25.—After two miles' riding, came to the Rio Grande, running rapidly from west to east, and its bed about half a mile in width. Was told of stags as large as guernacos. Saw a lory with red breast and green back; also a little bird, rufous coloured, with red crest; and a flock of black and yellow toucans, the first I had noticed, on the higher branches of high trees, their movements very lively. Green parrots with red on the wing. Country generally flat, with more or less forest. Twice noticed a small plump wood partridge on the ground in the thick coverts, of a bluish grey colour on the

Digitized by Google

back, with some dull spotted yellow beneath. Waited till they rose, and missed them, which I was sorry for, as they seemed to be a new species. Slept on the bank of the Rio Colorado; went out to look for ducks and, finding none, bought a kid. Sharp, cold, and frosty night. Oran still distant about seven leagues, and the tops of the mountains of the plateau of Bolivia, now in sight, seemed covered with fresh snow. Passed the Rio Santa Maria, about four miles from the Rio Colorado. These streams are all feeders of the Vermejo. The track to Oran leaves the forest for a rich and beautiful plain, upon which the town is situated; noticed a thrush resembling the North American robin, a black and white woodpecker, and a small grey plover. Took a snap shot at a deer, which got away, of the same species as the deer of the Pampas. Lofty trees, with pink foliage, attracted my attention. Butterflies were very numerous. From the track which ran due north, the low blue ridges bounding the left bank of the Vermejo, were visible in the same direction.

I arrived early at Oran after a march of twenty miles, and rode directly to La Mission, the residence and sugar estancia of the Governor, Señor Uruburu, to whom I was provided with an introduction. It had received its name from having belonged to a mission of Franciscan

Digitized by Google

monks from Tarija, who took advantage of the protection given by a fort that had previously been built there as a defence against Indians. I partook of refreshment, and was afterwards invited to reside there, and was treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality during my stay. I found Mr. Hickman at Oran; he had commenced his boat at the Vermejo where the stream was about six miles distant. In the cold morning the thermometer stood at 60° Fahrenheit in my room, and water boiled at 206°, giving an approximate elevation of about 3,000 feet; and on the 27th of August the thermometer stood at 60° in the open air at 7 a.m., and at 89° in the sun at noon on the 29th.

The small town of Oran is, as usual, laid out at right angles; the houses and public buildings small, white, thatched, or red tiled, without pretence, and disposed around a plaza which did duty for the village green, and separated by gardens of oranges and other fruit trees. The prosperity of its future is contemplated as a sure consequence of the opening of the navigation of the Vermejo, though I should be inclined to say that a town at the Esquina Grande, or Great Bend, or, at all events, on the river itself near Oran, would soon present a most formidable rivalry. There is no doubt that a small steamer could ply to within a short distance of Oran.

Digitized by Google

Its situation was examined in 1794, and it was first peopled on August 31st, 1795, the fête day of St. Raymond, the patron saint, who was born at Oran, in Africa, whence the new settlement was named, the particular day having been, no doubt, chosen by the then Governor of Salta, whose name was Raymond Garcia Pizarro.

I heard that the only frost that had done harm within their memory, was in 1807, and that up to that year the ground had always produced three crops of maize annually, but that they have never since been able to raise more than two. Two crops of grapes are much destroyed by wasps. Coffee, tea, maté, and cocoa, cost about a dollar a pound at Oran. The governor told me that an inferior and thin kind of cascarilla was produced in the woods. Before the forest was cleared, and the surrounding plain partially drained, and brought into cultivation, the place was not considered to be healthy. The principle of life was profusely distributed; a saddle or other cloths, for instance, that had been in contact with perspiration, were fly-blown, and showed symptoms of animal life in a day or two. I remember here to have felt an unusual irritation in the foot, and for the first time was informed that I had a *nigua* or *chigo* in it. The most usual place of attack is at the edge of one of the toe-nails. The insect is a small species of burrowing flea, scarcely visible to the naked

Digitized by Google

eye, and it is scarcely possible to avoid one now and then in country houses, as they live on the floors, which are never particularly well cleaned. They are frequent, as is well known, from Bolivia to Mexico, including the West Indies, where it is called "jigger," though there are places comparatively exempt from them, and they are more rare in cold and elevated places. The active vitality of the chigo is not exceeded, I should suppose, by that of any other animal. In three days he has excavated a tiny passage, probably a hundred times larger than himself, and his having done so is indicated by a slight redness and an intolerable itching. The furrow may be easily opened by the point of a needle, and if attended to in time, with scarcely any pain, and the animal is found to have enshrined himself in a globular formation, very much resembling a small pearl, which is in fact a covering woven round its eggs, and scarcely any inconvenience is felt; but it is advisable to take them out soon, as they increase and multiply, and if the system be not healthy the attack is not only a tedious and troublesome affair, but even dangerous. There are numerous instances of loss of a leg, even of death, resulting from neglect, so I heard, I know, of only one instance of a nigua in the thumb of a European. The first Spaniards frequently died, as they neglected them in their ignorance, and the Indians would not assist

Digitized by Google

them or forewarn them. There is a story of a young French surgeon paying for his love of science with the loss of his foot, in which he purposely allowed them to remain until he had crossed the Atlantic, and of another who put some on the floor of the ladies' cabin, in the expectation of being employed to extricate them. The Indians and natives put a little ear-wax on the spot where the pearl is extracted. I can vouch for the efficacy of Holloway's ointment, sometimes weakened with unguentum simplex, as a cleanlier remedy, and as being of general use in these countries, where insect instincts make themselves felt so frequently and severely. I once reckoned up, with the assistance of a native, I think, nine different insects which are ordinarily troublesome, exclusively of extra annoyances. The inevitable mosquito is altogether the worst, as he gives no respite night or day; the little sand-fly, who deliberately bites a bit out of your hand, is perhaps more painful at the time, but he goes to bed when the sun is down. The *binchucho*, a bug, covering about ten times the surface of the ordinary insect, may be generally avoided by not sleeping on the ground. A little lemon-juice in a phial, ready to be applied with a feather to a fresh mosquito bite, is an excellent preventive for the irritation it would otherwise cause. The Chinese are said to know of a plant which prevents the approach

Digitized by Google

of mosquitos, and the sooner it is made more known and applicable, the better for the residents in all hot countries. The Affghans and other Orientals often sleep with their faces covered, and if a traveller would learn to do so, he would find it to his advantage.

One of the six hundred original settlers, Señor Jose de la Madrid, was still living at Oran, and highly respected. He was a fine handsome old man, wearing a broad-brimmed hat and a red poncho. He assured me distinctly that the power of the lampalagua, or boa-constrictor, over its prey was no exaggeration; that accounts of it, from whatever cause, were too numerous to be doubted; that he himself had once heard a peculiar whining howl, and upon approaching the spot saw a fox to all appearance so paralysed with fear that he could not escape from the lampalagua, which soon seized him. The Indians assert that he can draw towards himself any small animal from a distance of ten yards or more. This python does not move, habitually at all events, with the serpentine motion of other snakes; all the tracks are straight; he contracts himself like an earth-worm, and then shoots forward in the same direction. The slowness of this movement would, it may be supposed, prevent his catching his prey, and nature seems to have supplied the means by giving him the power of inspiring a paralysing fear. I saw a small one

Digitized by Google

near the estancia. The Governor told me that he had once seen a snake in the Gran Chaco, about twelve feet long, which the Indians said was poisonous, and of another known as the *vivora ciega*, or blind viper; and he also repeated a story I had heard of a snake that will throw itself off the ground at a man on horseback; and also mentioned an animal that prowled about only at night, and which twenty horsemen could not overtake, called *hucre;* said he was like a unicorn. It is evidently the jackal of the country, perhaps like the coyatl of Mexico; also, that calves and sheep were often found with their eyes out, and that it was not known what animal had destroyed them.

At Oran, whilst at the governor's, I had ample opportunity of watching the sugar-making. At the upper end of a large yard, resembling that of a farm in England, was a barn-like building containing the boiling-houses and cooling-vats, and in the yard itself were two of the original mills, much on a par with a large old cider-mill in an English county. Three upright cylinders, with wooden teeth in them and nearly close together, were kept moving by the central one, which was turned by two yoked oxen; the canes were presented by the hand, drawn in, and crushed between them; the juice ran down a wooden trough into a sort of well, whence it was ladled off into barrels, which were transferred

Digitized by Google

to the boiling-house. A beautiful stream from the hills on the north supplied the whole place with water, and me with a cold bath every morning. Whilst sitting in the long low verandah of the house and sketching the scene before me, with a poor but amusing idiot boy munching sugar-cane in the foreground, one of the labourers came in with a bad hatchet-cut, inflicted by himself on his shin. One of the ladies immediately sent for an egg and some salt, which was added to the white, and then spread the mixture on a piece of rag and applied it to the wound, and the man hobbled away, after thanking her, apparently with full reliance on the remedy, which was new, at all events, to me.

At Oran, I was shown sea-weed as a cure for goître. Guirapa was always kept ready, and iced; it was effervescing, delicious, and wholesome, though slightly intoxicating if taken in great quantities.

One day when the family happened to be in the town, about a mile distant, I heard a yelling and shouting in the adjoining open forest, and was told by my servant that the Indians encamped there had procured a quantity of guirapa, and were of course drunk and fighting amongst themselves. He earnestly begged me to fire off my gun by way of alarming the police in the town, as he said that when they were in that state they

Digitized by Google

had no command of themselves, would probably come to the estançia to demand more guirapa, and finding the Governor absent, would become riotous, perhaps plunder and set fire to it. Accordingly I discharged both barrels, with a short interval, and the police soon came down, being used to such signals, secured some of the ring-leaders, and succeeded in quelling the disturbance, though not before three of the Indians had been killed by arrows. These Indians of the adjoining parts of the Gran Chaco are Matacos or Mataguyos; their women, as is usually the case, are made to slave and work for them, but at Oran I also saw some Chiriyuanes from the north of the Pilcomayo, distinguishable not only by a blue coloured wafer-like ornament which is fixed (if I remember rightly) through the upper lip, but by their general appearance, being very superior to that of the Matacos. Their women (and the exception is a curious one) are exempt from servile employment, which is attested by a livelier countenance, more rounded limbs, and the absence of the sad wearied look and emaciation which is so generally remarkable in the natives. I do not know if this more polished tribe is exempt from another curious custom, of which I heard the same account everywhere. When an addition to an Indian's family has been made, it is the father and not the mother who is considered to be interesting. He, literally speaking, goes to bed,

Digitized by Google

shams illness, and is waited on by his wife, who is supposed to recover her strength in a very short time, as if expressly for the occasion. The best fowl is killed, the best chicha tapped, and for three or four days, or even more, he remains in the hut receiving the congratulations of his friends, to whom the woman exerts herself to make the reception as agreeable as she can. An Indian never chastises his child, and the child is never regularly weaned, sometimes using his strength as a boy, or even when older, to get by force at his mother's breast. Girls marry at twelve, young men at eighteen. A suitor gives a few yards of cloth or a poncho to a man for his daughter, but nothing to the mother. He carries a bundle of wood, and throws it down before the house; if the girl likes him she sets fire to the wood; if not, she only asks if he can labour. The Indians here never eat mutton, they say it makes their noses flat! and object to use a knife that has lately killed a sheep. They break the backbone of a corpse, and then bury it, as at Atacama, in a sitting posture, with a vessel of water and maize and wood between the feet. The widow takes maize and shakes it over him with her head covered.

At Oran I saw an albino, an Indian, a native of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, who being trustworthy was employed as a traveller, with commercial and other commissions. It was at Oran also

Digitized by Google

that I first saw the dance called the "samo coca," known throughout the country as far as and beyond Lima, and called, of course, in English "the Sambo Quaker." It is danced by two persons, and somewhat resembles the minuet, but the peculiarity is that both the lady and her partner have each a white handkerchief, which is constantly waved about more or less gracefully and mysteriously, as they advance and retire, and finally sit down amidst the applause of the other guests.

At Oran I found an old Frenchman who, with his daughter, had been residing there for some time with the intention of growing cotton on a large scale, and was about purchasing a square league of uncleared land for six or seven hundred dollars, intending to repay himself, so he hoped, in only two years by the sale of its produce. If the Vermejo were opened, and many were to follow such an example in these countries, there can be no doubt of an immense growth not only of cotton but of almost every necessary and luxury of life, quite sufficient to keep pace with the increasing population, and render them independent of supply from other localities.

A sack of wheat from Salta, weighing five arrobas, or 125 lbs., was worth about nine dollars at Oran.

An Italian from Salta had taken the trouble to construct a large boat on the Vermejo, which

Digitized by Google

was to be moved by means of paddles, and a wheel worked by hand labour on board. The Governor, anxious to give him encouragement, determined to make a day of it when the launch was to take place, and everybody was invited to a repast on "carne con cuero" at the river side. I joined the cavalcade, in which were probably sixty persons, many of them ladies, and we arrived, after two hours' slow riding through the woods, at a spot where the stream of the Vermejo was about two hundred yards in width, but shallow near the shore. This place was above Soria's place of embarkation. I regretted the poor Italian's disappointment; the machinery did not work as was intended, and the enterprise was, for the time at least, a failure, for which, however, I believe the crowd cared but little, as they bathed, ate, drank, sang, and danced by way of amusement; and the Governor himself was not, as I thought, half angry enough with the chief cook, whom he accused of having over-roasted the best "carne con cuero" that Oran had ever produced! On our return, the whole cavalcade, in the highest spirits, gathered round the commandant—a merry and fine-looking man—who was constantly giving out what seemed to be an extempore couplet, which was immediately taken up and sung by the whole party to the same unvaried tune, not remarkable for melody. What the words were I could not

Digitized by Google

always make out; but the subject was to be inferred from the frequent and rather emphasized words "paloma" and "corazon."

The town of Oran stands in latitude 28° 28′. The province, according to the governor's account, was more than a hundred leagues from N. to S., and about eighty in width. He told me that the plain of Oran was covered for the depth of a yard with rich soil, that for a depth of twenty feet the soil was alluvial, and that beneath it was always a bed of rounded boulders; that water was generally attainable at a depth of from three to nine yards near the town of Oran, and at a somewhat greater depth near his residence, which was a little more elevated. I could not, in answer to my inquiries, hear of any fossil remains having been found in this old bed of the ocean thus covered with the detritus from the neighbouring and upraised plateau of Bolivia, but was always informed I should find plenty at Tarija. I was told of copper-mines—one near the Rio de las Piedras; another, in the department of Truja, had been worked by the old Spaniards; and one again at Santa Vittoria, in the Sierra to the north, where also the bed of the Rio Picquara was washed for gold. He shewed me a creeper, the vecuco, and said it was an antidote to the effects of a snake-bite: it was, I think, the guaco of Mexico. Fire-flies and lanthorn-fly at Oran;

Digitized by Google

the forests rich in timber. The boracho is known as the *uchan;* whole trunks of it were hollowed out so as to form small tanks in a tan-yard at Oran; where I also saw a mill-stone of a very compact sandstone, from the mountains to the west; the quina-quina, whose wood is the best for any fine work; and the seville or logwood, also found in Tucuman, and whose bark is used for tanning. He also gave me a piece of willow bark, from the Sierra, giving out an agreeable perfume when burnt.

Mr. Hickman's German carpenters were obliged to cut and saw up the timber for building his boat, and he accordingly established some tents and a saw-pit in the forest, about eight miles from the Vermejo, living chiefly at a farm-house or "trabanjal," on some cleared land in the vicinity. They occasionally got drunk and quarrelled, and one day one of them laid another's shoulder open with his hatchet; but altogether, they did their work well. One, the best of them, was said to be of good family in Holstein; another, with his brother, were adventurers from the United States; and the fourth had been in the Prussian army, and sat in his saddle like a machine, very rarely dismounting to relieve his horse by walking up or down hill.

One of the trees in use was the dragon's blood tree already mentioned, whose red sap flowed

Digitized by Google

very freely; and here also, for the first time, I saw the pod known there as the coronilla. A little powder, scraped, of the dried shell, not exceeding half a small pin's head in size, and used as snuff, will produce a comfortable fit of sneezing. The farmer and his pretty wife and other relatives at the trabanjal did their best to afford us a hospitable reception, but after the first night I was glad to be allowed to sleep on the table.

Mr. Hickman was loud in his praises of an old man at a farmhouse in the forest called Carreton, where he had been regaled upon most excellent roast sucking-pig. We made him a second visit, and he kindly roasted another for us, and very good it was. Carreton lies about seven leagues to the south-east of Oran, and about three to the nearest point of the Vermejo on the north-east. It is on the Rio Santa Maria, distant about nine miles from the spot where I had crossed it in approaching Oran from Salta, and one league from the ford we had passed of the Rio Colorado, which it joins above Carreton. He said that the Indians on the Gran Chaco lived upon fish, roots, and fruit, and he showed us some cups made of the palo santo (holy wood), or scented cedar (?), which were brought from the Gran Chaco; bows and arrows made of lancewood, earthenware cups; also a coarse string, which is, I believe, made of a bromelia

Digitized by Google

known as *chagua;* hats of palm-leaves, and coats of basket-work mail, also manufactured from some kind of palm by the Indians. I remember to have seen the palmated reed, of which best Havannah hats are made, in the Gran Chaco. At the trabanjal I had an opportunity of inquiring of some Indians of the Gran Chaco their opinions of a future state; but they were obviously a confusion of transmitted missionary doctrine, with a wish to say something sooner than appear to be totally at a loss. The "Fall" was alluded to by the story of a beautiful young Indian girl of a former race, who appeared to an old woman and her husband, who told her not to eat pumpkin; but she transgressed and died. The husband ran away, but from remains of the young Indian which the old woman put into an earthen vessel were formed the bones of different animals, and which she distributed to different nations; and hence Christians have horses, cows, sheep, &c., whilst Indians lived originally upon maize, roots, &c.

In riding through these forests I saw deer, ducks, &c.; the men at the saw-pits observed a jaguar pass them. The black wild turkeys or pavas are common here also; a brood of them was now and then by the track side, and one morning I remember to have killed eight of them, either flying or perched on the highest summits of the lapacho trees: they are good

Digitized by Google

eating. At the sawpit I also saw some pods from a tree with an oval shaped and pointed leaf about five inches long; and whilst riding to Carreton, Mr. Hickman's native servant gave me some wild tea-plant (probably maté) he had observed. I was shown three different kinds of tea in South America, one by some monks in going to the volcano of Sungay in the Equador.

The Governor had kindly offered me a guard to enable me to see something of the Gran Chaco, and accordingly I rode down to the place where Soria had embarked, and where Mr. Hickman was about to commence his boat, seven leagues from Oran, which lay N.N.W. of it. The temperature (September 2nd) on the bank was 57° at 5 P.M., and the sky cloudy. Water boiled at 206°. The track emerges from the forest to the Vermejo, which was running with a smooth and rather quick stream about 200 yards in width, the actual bed being nearly half a mile across, the dry edges being covered with large grey rolled stones. High wooded banks bounded the view up the stream, and in front arose a high red sandstone cliff. The river takes its name from the red colour of the water, caused by the sandstone soil on its banks. Flood time is in February and March, when its bed is completely covered, and in the plains of the Chaco is widened to the extent of one or two leagues. At the distance of four days'

Digitized by Google

march from Oran, and on the right bank, the stream runs through a lake known as the "Laguna de Perlas," probably from a pearl-bearing mussel, but I do not remember to have seen any of them.*

I rode through the river with my guides, mules, &c., and found myself on the Gran Chaco, the forest path immediately turning up to the sandstone ridge just mentioned, as the river, at a few miles below, bends suddenly to the left, and doubles back so as to flow at its foot before it starts into the plains, to commence a tortuous course of about 700 miles to its junction with the Paraguay. Very beautiful was the prospect from the eastern edge of the ridge, rising to about 600 feet above the river at its base, about eighty yards wide, and whose windings through the primeval forest were traceable to a vast distance, until they were lost in the blue haze on the horizon, in which scarcely any inequality was perceptible. Descended into the plain, after having made a sketch of it. The path lay for miles through forest ground that much reminded me of an Indian jungle, on account of the large spaces covered with tall

* Ayolas was the first who entered the plains of the Gran Chaco, and was massacred with his men in 1537. Cabaza de Vaca made a successful foray in the Chaco from Assoncion in 1542. He had previously marched across the country from the Atlantic coast to Paraguay in the same year.

Digitized by Google

reeds and numerous dry ravines, or *quebradas*, as they are termed in these countries, all filled, no doubt, in the flood time. Saw some more wild turkeys, or *pavas*, and a chunia, and two kinds of *uchan* or borracho trees were pointed out to me. Stopped at a place called Campo Santo until the mules came up; one Indian had left them. Went on to La Piedra Grande and slept there. A tame chunia was strutting about in the most independent manner. The habitable farm-houses scattered about over the edge of the Chaco usually consist, like those throughout the country, of three or four thatched buildings, on three sides of a square, the dwelling-house in the centre distinguished by its compartments being more shut in with walls of mud, plastered into a wooden framework, and also by a roughly built verandah; there is little or no glass, the air and light are admitted together. In the interior are a few chairs and tables, perhaps a hide bed stretched on a cane bedstead, a confusion of saddles, bridles, hides, and strips of hides stretched out to dry, nets, ponchos, spurs, chains, reed capes, reed canisters for sugar shaped like an overgrown bee-hive, boxes and bags of maize and flour, drinking horns, rose-wood pestle and stone mortar, dried meat, and capsicum pods on strings, maté cups, wooden troughs for making bread, a block of wood to chop meat upon, pots of grease, candles, hatchets,

Digitized by Google

and other tools and implements, wide-awake hats, a raised scaffolding used as a shelf to hold pumpkins, &c., a tub of chicha, or a small barrel of cana (the spirit extracted from the sugar-cane), vessels for holding and boiling water, pots and pans in every state of breakage, a fireplace of loose bricks, long knives, often a sword or an old musket, bearing the Tower mark, and which had perhaps been used at Waterloo; children generally rolling in the dust, or cleaning each other's heads; dogs, cats, poultry, ducks, geese, &c.; a litter of puppies or kittens in or about the house, cattle not far off, and horses, mules, and donkeys in and about the corral. The family itself is made up of people of all ages, and a great many of them; the eldest perhaps a great-grandfather, living thus in generations round the open and verandahed pateo. I remember to have been somewhere cautioned, whilst travelling in these countries, that it was rather advisable to abstain from making much inquiry as to "who was who" in a large family; but it is right to add that I am not able to advocate the necessity of such hint from any actual discoveries of my own. To say that I have seen a jolly priest, with his own children and their mother about him, is no case in point. It was in a town in South America that I was told of a priest who had been so much attached to the memory of his

Digitized by Google

mistress, that he was in the habit of playing upon a flageolet (*lethalis arundo*)! which he had made from her thigh-bone.

September 8.—Arrived at a place called Poso Largo, due east of Oran. Slept there; shot ducks in the water near it; same aspect of country—fields of gigantic reeds, and trees small; saw deer; called on an old Indian chief, a diminutive and half-starved figure, wearing an old blue frock, and an old wide-awake hat with the brim off, but all the Indians I saw had some ragged pretensions to decent clothing.

On the 10th came to Palomita, where there is a stream forming an island, with the left bank of the Vermejo running from the N.N.W.; capital duck shooting. Oran said to be about fifteen leagues from Palomita; halting-place dry and shaded with mimosas. River here about one hundred yards wide, with mud banks of ten or fifteen feet in height, and another on the opposite side at the edge of a verdant and partially wooded plain. A rounded hill and ridge were visible to the S.S.E. A large otter was diving, and showing his head above water at intervals. Saw an Indian pass the river; he had only to swim the current in the middle, about twenty-five yards wide.

September 11.—Bathed in the Vermejo, under the bank near my tent. Low Indian huts made

Digitized by Google

of reeds not far off. Fish rising; Indian fishing, and catching a silvery little fish like a bleak, called moncarita. Humming-bird, turkey buzzards, reddish coloured eagle; flock of small doves. Heard a loud noise of voices in the Indian tents at night: found an old woman, who having first tied a wreath of cock's feathers round the sick man's head, was screaming and holloaing words into his ear, holding her hands over her own ears at the same time. She was looked upon as a *medico* or *bruco*, and this was her mode of driving off disease. No one goes near a person who has the small-pox. At a spot called San Lorenzo, and again at San Francisco, gusts of hot wind were blowing from the north: thermometer 96° in the shade at noon. Forest yellow with flowers. Arrived at the last station-house, and gave my letter to the commandant, the same who had headed the cavalcade in the expedition to the launch on the Vermejo—kind and attentive, with plenty of conversation. Slept at the station, where there was a merry-making and ball in an open shed: almost everybody got tipsy, and the guitars and the row all together, kept me awake long after I had retired. After it was over, the women who had collected together were all huddled on a carpet under the outside wall of the shed and covered in with cloths hanging from the edge of the thatched roof. They appeared, when the curtain was withdrawn in the

Digitized by Google

morning, to be terribly jaded, but I was allowed at the request of the commandant to sketch them off. Whilst I was doing so, one of the young men began to pay attentions to one of the prettiest of them, which were considered by another to be unsolicited: in one instant the two rivals sprang to their feet in an attitude, with their knives drawn, the approved guard being that of a stick player, but with the armed hand resting on the advanced knee. They evidently meant mischief, but the commandant and others interfered and pacified them. The Governor of Oran told me that the drawing of a knife in the streets is punishable by immediate banishment.

I refreshed myself by a bathe in the river in the morning: was told that the palmita, which is a fish about a foot long, occasionally gave a severe but venomless bite to a bather. I do not know if this is the caribi of the Amazons. There were also yacarès or alligators in some places: amongst other fishes was one resembling a cat-fish; the dorado also, and the sagalo, which was considered to be the best eating.

September 13.—Marched towards the wilder parts of the Chaco. The frontier posts for protection against the Indians were established by the then governor. Rode in company with the commandant, a guide, and two or three of his armed attendants, to Lucquerora, where there was a small deserted house, the owner having lately

Digitized by Google

died. Thence again to the banks of the Vermejo, where it was about four hundred yards wide, with a narrower mid-channel. The commandant and one or two of his men stopped to bathe. Nothing could exceed the beauty of the rich green of the boundless meadows on the opposite site, dotted here and there with clumps of trees as far as they could be seen. A tree called guancay; mimosas called espinillos; flock of storks; the forest again yellow with helioncillo flowers. Arrived at the puesta, or post, whose name I forget, about thirty leagues south-east of Oran. Saw some smoke rising in a thick clump of trees on the plain. Rode towards it, expecting to find hostile Indians, but they had decamped. Beautiful open pasture ground in the forest called Las Moras. Arrived at the furthest post, sacked by the Matacos and Tobas Indians about three months previously. Found some cattle still left there; caught and killed one. Tried to sleep there on the ground under an algodon or cotton-tree; kept awake by binchuchos, &c.; stars wonderfully brilliant; Canopus exactly over us. Was informed of a large laguna formed by the Vermejo about a league further on, with alligators; perhaps the "Laguna de Perlas" already noticed. Small alligator in a place not far off, where I went to shoot ducks, but did not get a shot. Small bird with red breast and head; water-hens with black head, red back, and

Digitized by Google

yellow quill feathers. Saw two cassacas (small deer) running off. Hence we turned northward to a station called Fuente l'Avena, where there was a guard of wild-looking fellows. Sketched one of them, and asked him for his name, and found I had been pourtraying the "Angel Gabriel." Partook of an armadillo which we chased on the way. He ran about as fast as a pheasant. Meat resembling that of sucking-pig, but still richer—too much so—but otherwise most excellent. If domesticated would soon, no doubt, be admitted on a Parisian *carte-à-manger*. Returned next day to the station where the ball had been given, and got a capital cup of coffee. Heard that a wild Indian had been seen near Las Moras after we had left it. Returned and halted at San Lorenzo; the commandant absent somewhere. Had to wait for mules that had run back to the last post. At San Lorenzo my host was a fine-looking man, and honest withal. Heard a man talking with him about letting him steal something, and pointing to my travelling tin pail; remarked that that would be a good thing to take. Went up directly and bargained with my host for a very fine new lasso, and gave him two dollars for it, which seemed to please him. These lassos are made of strips of horse-leather beautifully plaited; at one end is an iron ring, by means of which an open slip-knot is formed ready for throwing; at the other end is

Digitized by Google

a loop, by which it may be fastened to the pommel. The hand holds it ready to whirl round the head at a distance from the ring of about one-third the diameter of the circle to be thrown, which may be about five feet more or less, so that the rope is doubled in the hand where it holds the lasso. When one man on horseback is lassoed by another, the former rides at the latter as hard as he can, of course, so as to loosen the grip of the lasso. Boys and even children are taught to practise the use of it, and they usually begin by lassoing the handle of the door, a feat requiring some skill in order to let it fall with sufficient lightness. The strength of a well-made lasso is prodigious; should it snap during a gallop, and when at full tension, it has been known to inflict a most severe and even a fatal blow. I here also remember, in the Chaco, to have seen a young horse tightly haltered with a lasso to a tree and a young peasant beating him with all his force for some time, and was told it was for the purpose of breaking him. Several lions' (cougars') heads were hung up near the house, as a keeper exhibits vermin in England. Two days after I had left this place it was plundered by a number of Indians. At one of these stations I asked the mistress of the house to look at the plants which I had collected, and she soon recognized several used for medicinal purposes, expatiating on their

Digitized by Google

many virtues with great energy. I also went to see a young man who was prostrate with pleurisy, and got him round with a little simple medicine; also another who was evidently only much the worse for having drunk too freely at the party already mentioned.

In returning to Las Palomitas I rode round to Paso Largo, having been told that I ought to see a palm forest there. At this station was a Toba woman who had been made a prisoner when young, said to be the daughter of Yandira, a great cazique on the Pilcomayo. She was robust in person, with an intelligent but not classical expression, and her face was tattooed in blue stripes in a manner I had seen nowhere else. Seven leagues thence to Campo Santo, turning off in the way to Mistol and Buenvista, a view, however, much overrated, although I certainly passed through a forest of palms. Galloped over a snake in the track, who gathered himself up to strike, but had no time. Rejoined the mules at Yacarecito (the little alligator), and the next day in the afternoon I again found myself on the bank of the Vermejo, which I forded, and was surprised to find how much progress had been made with Mr. Hickman's boat. He had been making an excursion to Tarija for commercial purposes. Whilst I was in the Chaco Mr. B—— was at Salta arranging to assist Mr. Ledger in the management of his

Digitized by Google

alpacas. I saw Mr. Hickman once more as I was ascending the Vermejo whilst he was returning that way to Oran; and, without knowing further particulars, I heard that his enterprise had been crowned with success under, no doubt, great difficulties and danger from the Indians; that he had successfully piloted his boat down the Vermejo and was descending the Parana, when the risks, anxieties, &c., which he had so long undergone, proved too much for a hardy and powerful frame, and he died of fever just as he was expecting the thanks and congratulations which were and are so justly due to him from the community at Buenos Ayres.

September 20.—Having returned to Oran, made preparations for ascending the Vermejo into Bolivia. Missed one of my mules; found him at last in the inclosed portion of the forest near La Mission, with his side in a most dreadful state from being fly-blown. However, the governor kindly gave me another for him, and the wound was stopped with fresh cow's-dung, the natives seeming to think nothing of the wound, and that the cure was only a work of time.

When I started for the Gran Chaco the forest wore an aspect of singular magnificence. The foliage of the lapacho-trees had undergone a peculiar change,—perhaps the forerunner of decay, but not decay itself; every particle of what had been verdant as a leaf was now of a fine

Digitized by Google

delicate rose-colour,—no dullish bright red like that of the maple in autumn, but a tint that required lake or carmine to represent it with truth; and when (as I remember to have seen one near the trabanjal between Oran and the Vermejo) a large open space afforded an opportunity of contemplating the forest surrounding it like a wall, and three or four of these large trees happened to be near each other, the effect of extensive rose-coloured spaces contrasting with the usual verdure, or salient from the shade of some deep gloomy recess, was such as I suppose no painter would ever have dared to represent even in painting a scene of enchantment. Moreover, in ascending the Vermejo, I was one day surprised at seeing a tree (I only remember one or two) whose foliage in the distance had become entirely, not exactly blue nor leaden, but of a decidedly bright lavender or smalt colour, after a similar organic change in the leaf. It appeared to me on examination to be a species of mimosa, and was called here the *tarqui*.

One morning at Oran my host entered my room with the newspaper from Salta, and told me that Captain (the Hon. R.) Gore was dead at Monte Video. I was at the point of writing him, as he wished, a long letter. He was much respected in the Argentine Republic, and a long article, describing his political services in the

Digitized by Google

country, and his death, was headed "Perte Lamentabile."

I now took leave of the gentlemanly and hospitable governor and his family, and started (October 9, 1854) to ascend the Vermejo into Bolivia, preferring it to the more frequented route over the mountains. Slept on the ground on the bank of the Senta, about six miles distant, and which subsequently joins the Vermejo. On removing my pillow in the morning, found a large toad had contrived to get under it. Could not read for the sand-flies—heavy dew—beautiful view of the hills that slope down on to the plain from the plateau of Bolivia. The stream ran N. and S., and was about sixty yards in width where we forded it. Bathed in it in the morning. Observed a small species of water-spider that was very numerous among the boulders on the beach. They bounded over the surface of the water without sinking; the foot showed flat under the microscope. From the Vermejo I never observed them until I saw them on the shore of a stream in Peru. Saw again the wood partridge I had previously noticed; and a tea-plant was handed to me called "Té de Cedron;" pigeons, swallow-tailed falcons, cactus, lance-wood-tree, and trumpet-trees I had seen in the Organ Mountains at Rio. Numerous funnelled cobwebs of a small ground spider attracted attention by the cleverness displayed in the

Digitized by Google

adaptation of their shape to the surrounding localities. The Senta afterwards joined the Vermejo: I was surprised at the small quantity of water in the latter river, which we crossed at once; but I can never forget the magnificence of the primeval forest through which we had just ridden, and whose shade had been very agreeable during the heat of mid-day. The lapachos had now shed their rose-coloured foliage, and the yellow blossom of the gamouguay was everywhere conspicuous: I do not know what the botanical name is. But I would allude more particularly to the number and size of the trunks of the parasitical plants, and do not remember to have seen any such before or since. The forest seemed to have been invaded by an army of huge pythons, many of them more than a foot in diameter, looking as if they had been stiffened whilst in the act of twining themselves in numerous folds round the tree which they had seized and embraced with a living, fierce, and prehensile grasp, and had then reared and lost their heads in the uppermost branches of another still more lofty than their victims, which again were sometimes smaller than themselves, and bearing on their indented stems the impress of the enormous and strangling force that had writhed itself round them. Shot ducks and the black pavas already mentioned.

Reached Rio las Juntas after sixteen miles'

Digitized by Google

marching, and then passed the village of San Antonio, and then to the banks of the Vermejo, which we had crossed and re-crossed by wading several times, and halted after a very hot march of about thirty miles from the junction of the Senta, after noticing the first rapid.

October 11.—Passed and repassed the Vermejo repeatedly in the course of the day. Hot spring in limestone bank on the right bank opposite to our halting ground, containing I thought sulphuretted hydrogen. Slept on open sandy space: tormented by sand-flies. My servant saw a cow and calf that had wandered far from the owner's huts, and quietly tied up the calf for the night, so that we got an excellent draught of milk in the morning. Whilst I was bathing I saw a tapir and her calf walking quietly at the edge of the forest on the opposite side of the river. One of the muleteers pushed through the rocky bed of the torrent, and tried to turn her so that I might get a shot, but we saw no more of her. Fording the river had now become a matter of care, and my guide told me to hold my horse well up amongst the rocks in the bed, and after having done so at a very bad place we struck suddenly into a narrow and precipitous pathway in the forest which I should not have noticed, and commenced an exceedingly fatiguing march of about eighteen miles over the mountains in order to avoid an angle of the river. Scenery very bold

Digitized by Google

and picturesque: saw a wild orange-tree loaded with fruit at the halting place, and a tree resembling a plantain, with a red flower, and a bromelia with red blossom. Saw fish—told they were savali; sand-flies and gallipatos or ticks; at night heard the heavy floundering tread of some large animal amongst the boulders on the opposite side of the river, about a hundred yards off, probably a tapir. Next day we had to ford a notoriously bad place, called the Angosturas or "narrows:" the stream about fifty yards across between almost perpendicular rocks of sandstone, which bore evident marks of violent disturbance since it was deposited, rising more than a thousand feet above the river. The unloading and reloading occupied three hours; the trouble depends on the state of the rapid. A great quantity of water in the pool; the mules just kept their heads above the surface for a short distance. Parrots were flying about, and toucans, and I saw a bird resembling the English willow wren. Noticed a fly with a rich green body and a scarlet tail. In one of the pools was a brood of young wild ducks, and a number of fish about three pounds each; but the appearance of the dorado was singularly beautiful as they lay in the clear deep water under the rock and the green overhanging forest; one in particular, more than a yard in length, was floating, or lazily moving on the surface, with the blazing

Digitized by Google

sun upon his brilliant red and golden back and sides.

BOLIVIA.

Here was the boundary line; I was now in Bolivia, and at the place called Los Paras, where a small stream joins the Vermejo, and where we halted, I was much pleased to find Mr. Hickman, who having ascended into Bolivia and Tarija by Jujuy, was now descending the river to Oran, and I was glad to be able to give him a few provisions for the remainder of his journey thither, including a small supply of brandy. I never saw him after I took leave of him the next morning, and knew nothing till I heard of his success and his death at the same time, as related.

One of the horses was observed bleeding in the morning, having been sucked by a vampire bat in the night. I never happened to see a similar instance before or since, but such an occurrence is not uncommon.

October 14.—A small stream joined the Vermejo at this spot. Soon after starting, picked and ate what in England would certainly have been called blackberries, and noticed some lupins. Arrived next day at an Indian village, Cayambuy; rained all night; tent and everything wet through. Bought for a medio a small

Digitized by Google

bundle of the grass used as a red dye called charpi, and red dried seeds which the Matacos use to paint their faces. White blossom on a tree like the elder, called *sanco;* the decoction made with the flowers used by the Indians as a gargle. A padre from Tarija comes once a year for two days to the Indians there. Great quantity of rain; halted two days to dry my tent, &c. Toucans; birds like sparrows. Castor-oil plant everywhere; the oil, curiously enough, is scarcely at all used as a medicine, being considered poisonous and producing fever, and I remember that a medical man in the country told me its effects could by no means be calculated upon with the same certainty as those consequent upon its use in Europe. Curious tree, new to me, with leaves having thorns on each side. Indian houses of maize stalks, and thatched with grass. Rounded hills and peaks of sandstone covered with forest composed the landscape near the Indian village, which was situated in an open space. Shot pavas; saw a cup painted with a red ochre found near the river; proceeded up the stream to a place called the Poso, about ten miles distant, a narrow deep part between two nearly perpendicular sandstone and forest-clad precipices; slept on the ground in the track way at the Poso; got bitten in the night; preferred swimming up the pool, only about fifty yards, to a clamber over the nearly

Digitized by Google

perpendicular mountain to the other side of it; peasant there with a sort of boat made of hides, which was overladen, and upset near the edge; most of the luggage got wet; horses and mules made to swim. The foliage on the mountain sides was waving without wind, and I saw that there were a number of monkeys rapidly making their way from one tree to another. My guide shewed me a maté plant, and it was here I noticed the tree called tarqui already related, and a mimosa whose foliage had changed to a beautiful smalt colour. The Vermejo, which we had repeatedly crossed, had been little more than a succession of rapids, latterly about forty yards in width. My dog had generally swum it; once I saw him disappear in a whirlpool under some rocks, but his head soon came up again as if nothing had happened, and I remember having pushed my sure-footed horse among the rocks in the torrent much deeper than was pleasant, and lifted him bodily on to the saddle just as the stream between two perpendicular sides to it was about to prove too much for him.

The bed of the river now became more open, the slopes not so precipitous. A small water-bird like an ousel running up the stream occasionally. At length, about twelve miles from the Poso, we emerged upon an open, shingly, and partly grassy plain some three or four miles across, and surrounded with mountain slopes; those to the

Digitized by Google

east of it being of sandstone which the river had found softer than those on the west, which were of slaty rock, and sloping from the plateau. The Vermejo itself approaches from the north, and is here met by another stream from the east flowing between two high mountains, and its want of momentum over the flat plain is made very evident by the huge upright masses of sandstone *in situ* in the stream at the narrow gateway which it has worn for itself, where it makes its exit at, of course, the lowest part of the plain. The village here, which has a conspicuous chapel, is called Vermejo, and the way from Oran, over the monntains, known as La Puna, descends upon it. The southern cross rose directly over it. Villagers civil, and sold milk, eggs, &c.; and the night cool and refreshing on the dry open space near the river, where I had my tent pitched.

October 20.—Country more inhabited, with more open spaces amongst the mountains. Marched on to Las Molinos, said to be about fifteen leagues from Tarija; several houses there, and a watermill. Guide here determined he would return to Oran, so did not give him his full wages, as he was engaged to go to Tarija. My servant told me stories about Quiroga, "el Tigre de los Slavos," already mentioned, and spoke of his great personal strength. His father had served under him in his forays from Rioja. Saw

Digitized by Google

a bird very like a canary, orange-trees, and a vineyard, for the first time. The harca or mimosa, with yellow scented flower, very common. I had seen it at and from Catamarca. A good cow here costs six dollars. Stopped to boil water at the last crossing of the Vermejo, at foot of the ascent; boiled at 200° Fahrenheit (temperature 101° in sun, 84° in shade), giving a height of about 6,250 feet. Hired a guide to Padacaya for four reals. Continued march over mountain about 2,500 feet above the stream. Enormous quantity of alluvial deposit, sufficient to remind me of the buttressed sides of the Ouadi Kadesha in Syria, and Montserrat in Spain. Collected plants on summit of the pass, where there was sandstone and schist. Condors numerous. Arrived at Padacaya, a small village containing about 200 people, with a church and a plaza, about twelve leagues from Tarija. In the district, Indians are in the proportion of five to one white. Heard of fossil remains in the way I had come by. Sketched a large saurian tooth, which I found in a cottage. Puestas or small cattle farms, where sheep and goats are taken care of for about 6s. a month and their food. Trachytic soil in some places. Fever and costado (pleurisy?) the most common diseases here. Ate mandioca and molasses. Algerobas common on the alluvium. Marched on and slept at Portale, about two leagues from

Digitized by Google

Tarija, which I entered next morning, going at once to a room (at four reals, less than 4s. a day, including payment for the use of the corral for my cattle, &c.), hired for me by Señor C——, a Spaniard, who had left Cadiz fifty years ago, and who with his handsome daughter received me very kindly, in consequence of an introduction from the Governor of Oran, which I had forwarded to him. In the pateo of the house were oranges, grapes, and hollyhocks. Neither can I forget the Señora, wife of General O'Connor, brother of Feargus O'Connor, who was unluckily absent at a new place he was building on his estate, some two or three days' march distant, and which had been given to him by the Bolivian Government in reward for his services. His friend, Señor M., who had been severely wounded, and his daughter, who had married a Frenchman, were constant guests at the house. Saw on table a kind of wild rhubarb, resembling the ruwash of Kabul. The governor, General Avila, and his family, did not seem to have heard that England had withdrawn her representative from Bolivia. I frequently had the honour of dining with him, and if I were asked to mention a set of officers, at least as gentleman-like as any others met with in these countries, I should not hesitate to name the general and his staff. On the 27th of October, the thermometer (Fahrenheit) at mid-day was

Digitized by Google

78° in the shade, 112° in the sun; but on other days it stood at 65° in my room at 7 A.M., and 69° at noon; on the 6th of November, 71° in my room at 7.15 A.M. Water boiled at 196°, giving a merely approximate height of about 8,400 feet as that of the plain of Tarija.* I regretted the want of a barometer; but the heights throughout the route have been already measured with care and accuracy by Mr. Rutland and others. A servant was hired for me at two dollars a month, and six reals a day for his board.

The city is seen to great advantage when approached from Padecaya and the eastward, the towers of the cathedral and the old convent of San Francisco rising prominently above the confusion of roofs and garden-trees. In the convent there is, I do not know why, a painting and slab to the memory of Cardinal Lambruschini, who died at Rome. Witnessed the procession of Don Placido. The city of course has its plaza, with the governor's residence on one side of it, and the streets are airy and tolerably clean. The shops supply sufficient for the wants of the inhabitants. The first piano arrived when I was

* In the department of Tarija are three provinces, Salinas, Concepçion, and Del Cercado. The natives say it is about sixty-five leagues from Caica on the east to the Rio de San Juan on the west, and about forty-four from north to south from the Rio de Pilaya to the Quebrada Honda. The nearest mission is Jtau, about fifty leagues from Tarija.

Digitized by Google

there. Some good roomy baths are built over a full stream at the upper end of the town, and are much frequented. Saw "balm-gentle," here called *toronzil*, also the paico, with an oval jagged leaf, used as a tonic, but sometimes productive of vertigo. Noticed a black starling, a yellowish bird like a linnet, and another much resembling a sparrow in its appearance and habits. The population of Tarija is about 6,000,* its situation is beautiful and very peculiar; the plain is ten, twenty, or more miles in extent in different directions, almost one mass of alluvium, ploughed up by streams into deep-sided fissures, and intersected here and there by low rocky ridges and eminences which rise above the plain. The Vermejo skirts the west side of the town, and from its margin rises the worn mural sides of a plain of hardened mud not much less than sixty feet in thickness, which slopes gently down from a bared brown ridge, to which it looks like a stepping-stone; "Cheismura," the still much loftier chain of mountains behind it, running north and south, bounding the plain to the westward. An enormous quantity of alluvial deposit composes, in fact, the surface of the plain that is seen more particularly on the left of the approach to Tarija, and in the vicinity of Padecaya it seems to be little more than light coloured and powdered

* Estadistica de Bolivia, por Dalence, ymprente de Chuquisaca. 1851.

Digitized by Google

mud. The different feeders of the Vermejo have worn their way through it; and from one point of view on the left of the way I saw at a great distance what seemed to be an enormous archway that had been thus formed. From Tarija I rode one day to Las Augusturas, where the principal streams after their junction enter, from the north, a narrow gorge in a chain of rocky hills, and continue in it, I believe, until they are fairly off the plain and making their way to their descent to the southward. The rock itself, which was of sandstone, was nearly black, with a worn, oxydised, shining surface, such as I remember to have seen nowhere else but in the scarps of the Organ Mountains at Rio. Near it I saw a large vivora, or viper, of the country, about four feet long, making his way over a bare piece of ground. My guide would not go near it at first, even after I had shot it, and some peasants, having heard what I had done, begged me to come and shoot another that was usually to be seen on some bared ground near the same place, but we did not find it. I rode out in company with a native gentleman to see some coal, *carbon de piedra*, on his property, about four miles distant, the last of which I had to walk, with a guide he found me, with a great deal of scrambling in a deep quebrada, and at last I came to a thin stratum of lignite, in slate-like laminæ, about a hundred and fifty feet above the average height

Digitized by Google

of the plain, and my host told me that it cropped out again about two miles farther off. Saw a peregrine falcon flying about the quebradas. Hailstones of great size fell during a storm at Tarija. But to any one fond of natural history, the paramount interest of Tarija, lying immediately under the upper edge of the plateau of Bolivia and at the head waters of a highly interesting river, is connected with its diluvial antecedents; its present state in relation to them, and the quantity of what the natives used to call "uesos de gigantes," but which are now, more particularly since M. Castelnau's travels (in which there is an account of Tarija), known by their right names. The governor kindly procured me a number of them free of any charge to myself. Bringing them away was out of the question; expense and distance, difficulty and delay, in conjunction with the risk attendant upon any absence from one's luggage, most materially interfere with the wished-for movements of a private traveller in these countries. I therefore only took measurements and made drawings, some of which Professor Owen was good enough to point out to me, at the British Museum, as those of the bones of the *Mastodon* (found in stiff blue clay eight feet below the surface), *Megatherium*, and the shell or bony armour of the *Glyptodon claripes*, &c. I often, gun in hand, made excursions to the village of San Luis, and dif-

Digitized by Google

ferent parts of the plain, in search of fossil remains, frequently seeing them, and hearing of them in all directions, but was never able to see a perfect cranium. Their story seems a simple one. It is evident that the diluvial mud, whether it originally formed that of an estuary, or if, which is more likely, an inland lake, has been prevented from escaping into the plains of Oran by the numerous low intercepting ridges by which it is traversed. The Vermejo has made its way through it and drained it, without carrying it away. Some of the animals may have been collected in this spot, but I would rather infer that the remains had been washed down from different places in the hills, where they had died for want of sustenance, and that the skeletons had been separated by a succession of whirlpools and torrents, in which the crania of the mastodon and the shell of the glyptodon were broken, and had finally been deposited here with the mud and soil with which they were loaded; and this reasoning seems to be borne out by the fact of their being separated and found at different degrees of depth; sometimes to be seen jutting out on the side of a quebrada, and sometimes on the surface of the plain, and where their relative position is occasionally such that would easily be mistaken by the natives for the disjointed skeleton of a giant; and again the supposition of their having been washed down from higher elevations

Digitized by Google

is strengthened by the fact that a few days afterwards, on ascending the higher range, whose upraising may have helped to cause the deposit below, the first thing I saw on the summit was a mass of hardened mud, to all appearance the same as that on the plain of Tariga, that had escaped being swept away by a flood retiring from the westward by being safely sheltered under the eaves of an overhanging rock. The plain of Tariga is often nearly barren, with patches of low underwood, and a coating of scoba, low shrubs, and long grass, in general looking much like European heath, surrounded by mountains. One of the most common trees in the small enclosures about the plain is the molle or pepper-tree.

Saw the body of an old lady wheeled overnight on a truck, in a great hurry, into the church of San Francisco, and hastily sprinkled with holy water by the priests, before they locked the door until the morning.

Just before starting from Tarija I was informed that a revolution, headed by General Acha (now president) had broken out at Potosi against the President Belzu, and that two cavalry regiments had "pronounced," and General Avila had received orders to intercept them if they should attempt to leave Bolivia by way of Tupiza and Jujuy. He accordingly mustered all his available regulars and irregulars, and I went down to see them start, where they were fording

Digitized by Google

the river under the inspection of the general. The object of course was to make as great a display of numbers as possible, and I believe he had together about four hundred, mounted, with the best arms they could procure. I saw one man with a knife lashed on to a long stick. The disaffected regiments, however, were met and defeated, after killing a general; and on my way to Potosi I met the officer who had been sent to get intelligence, and he told me that they had escaped into Peru, and that all was now quiet.

December 3.—Thermometer 75° at 1 P.M. in my room. Next day started from Tarija and made a short march up the valley of the river to San Lorenzo; heard afterwards with regret that General O'Connor had arrived at Tarija the same evening. Had engaged a man to load and drive my mules, and a servant also, who I understood was to cook for me, at ten dollars each for the journey to Potosi. Saw that the latter, after a few miles, had taken a good-looking woman up behind him on my best horse, and told me he was taking her to cook for me. Upon my assuring him I should not pay her wages he left her behind the next morning, but I certainly did not fare the better for her absence.

December 6.—Ascended the Pass of Isqueachi, a very severe one of about a thousand feet above Tarija, bearing E.S.E.; noticed limestone near the summit, but sandstone was the chief rock.

Digitized by Google

Saw a condor fly over my head with what might have been a stick for its nest, but at first rather appeared to be a half-swallowed snake in his beak, stretching itself as if trying to escape. On the summit were the evidences of upheaval which I have already noticed; hardened mud in sheltered places to the east and south. Found there a house to sleep in, but was obliged to put up with what I could get to eat; not a bad stew made by the landlady; had shot a wild goose, but could not get it cooked, and have passed thousands of wild fowl without firing at them because I could so rarely get them cooked in the way. The plain on the summit was verdant and rocky, about eight miles in length, and reminded me in miniature of Deotsuh, north of Kashmir; flocks of sheep here and there; noticed a small greyish-brown plover with blue head; descended into a barren valley, and ascended from it proceeding along a defile with huge cliffs of red sandstone on either side, which I inspected, as well as I could, for fossil remains, but without success; saw what my guide called the biscacho of the country, different from that of the Argentine provinces: it had a long tail, and otherwise resembled the common polecat. Forded the river at San Juan just in time, as a flood was descending, and arrived at the house of Señora Costa, to whom Señora O'Connor had kindly given me an introduction, and showed my gratitude for a

Digitized by Google

very hospitable reception by going away in the morning, having forgotten to pay or offer to pay, as is customary, for the green alfalfa (lucerne) for my cattle. She showed me the result of a day's washing of the sand of the stream—about five shillings' worth of gold dust. Marched up the narrow valley to the village of Mataqui; crossed the stream by a bridge; slept on the verandah of an uninhabited house on the hill-side; bitten in the night by a binchucho; nine leagues' march to Centi, a small but bustling town with some good shops. Much of the formation in the district seemed to me to resemble the Old Red Sandstone in appearance. Hugh Miller perhaps would have thought, for an instant only, of his pterychthys and placocyanoids, but in this day's march, in particular, the quantity of raised sea-beach was more and more remarkable, and of an appearance such as, I presume, would set at rest all question as to its being the New Red Sandstone. For miles along the right hand of the road it rises at an angle of 40°, like a straight ridge of enormous red tiles, broken at intervals, sometimes to the height of a thousand feet or more, dipping to the westward, looking as if it had been elevated but yesterday, with a smoothed and rather shining surface indicative of having been subjected to enormous pressure. All inquiries about fossil remains, impressions, &c., were unattended with success.

Digitized by Google

Centi is situated in a hollow: atmosphere very hot; the river very muddy after the rain; inhabitants with sallow complexions. Ate some tough strawberries, and saw an olive-tree. Water boiled at 195° (about 8,750 feet); 70° in my room at 7 A.M. Binchuchos. A large savage dog, belonging to an Indian, attacked mine, and was punishing him very severely, when his master ran up and took him away, and seemed very sorry. Part of my harness stolen in the night, and the sapient corregidor decided that my servant, who had charge of it, was not responsible.

In these South American countries, when I had to make a bargain with a muleteer or any other servant, I could not but remark there was almost invariably a seeming unwillingness on the part of my host for the time being, or any one who undertook to make the agreement for me, to bind the person to such conditions as would be reasonably stipulated for in Europe; and the reason, rightly or wrongly, seemed to me not to arise so much from a disposition to doubt the man's honesty, but to be referable to a fear that the *employé* might retort by driving a hard bargain with himself or doing him harm on some future occasion.

The instructions given by General Court to Sir A. Burnes, at Lahore, before he started for Bokhara, advising him to be suspicious of every

Digitized by Google

one that seemed to wish to become acquainted with him, are equally applicable in these countries. The horseman who joins your servant on the march and appears to be in friendly conversation with him, is often making inquiries with the ultimate intention of plundering you. The constant watchfulness that is necessary when on the march is very fatiguing when it prevents sleep. The servant whom I thought most trustworthy was the only one who contrived to rob me. One morning some of the family at a house where I had been kindly received came to my door to announce to me that he had gone off over-night with two of my best mules. I then remembered that for some days past I had been joined occasionally by company on the road, and that one man had ridden with my mules for two or three days, and that from much that my servant had done in variance with my instructions, he had evidently been watching his opportunity: for instance, not putting the mules where I had wished them to be for the night, not lighting a fire where I ordered it, so as to be able to see that all was right, advising me take one road instead of another, &c. In this case, after all was quiet for the night, he had gone to the Indian in charge of the mules and told him that I had sent him to fetch some luggage (*efectos*) that had been left behind, mounted and rode away, sold them as already agreed upon

Digitized by Google

near the spot, and went off with the money in his pocket (losing, however, half his wages, nearly equal to the value of the mules), and I never saw or heard anything more of him or them. The family seemed much surprised at my taking my loss so coolly, and after half an hour, during which they had no doubt been in consultation, they came to me to ask if the thief had left any of his property behind him. I searched and found that he had taken all "his own at least." He was a tailor by profession, and I had seen him dismount to procure some trachyte with which he could draw white marks upon cloth, &c., and I found a small piece of it in one of my packages. I gave it to them as being all that I had of his property, and asked what they were going to do with it, and they forthwith placed it under the feet of a little porcelain figure of St. Anthony, by way of securing the saint's assistance towards the recovery of my mules. I could not help smiling and asking them what assistance they expected from images. "Images pues!" (the idea of calling them images) was the answer of one of the ladies, looking very serious and a little angry.

An American, to whom I remarked that Diogenes would have had as much difficulty in finding an honest man in these countries as anywhere else, replied by guessing that "he would have had to take a small-toothed comb to it!"

Digitized by Google

From Centi to Maniquiari. Saw a magnificent species of swift,* with a yellow ring on the neck and tail, flying about with great rapidity; also the large hornet known as the "alcalde," either from his avenging habits or the red flame-like colour of his wings, finely contrasted with the intensely steel-like bluish black of the body, about an inch and a half in length. In Europe the wasp stands a bad chance in an ordinary spider's web, but in South America, &c., the wasps and hornets generally have the best of it, and it is not uncommon on the way to see a wasp dragging along a dead spider larger than himself, displaying extraordinary strength, and aiding his exertions by the occasional use of his wings. My attention has been called to such a feat as we rode along, even by an apathetic native servant, and it is well worth watching. The wasp may be often seen hunting the spider among the grass-roots, like a hound, apparently by scent, and will follow him with unflinching determination for scores of yards, finally stinging him to death, and then dragging him backwards to the nest over ridges, hollows, and up precipitous banks, with all the pertinacity of the ant. The formidable alcalde is said never to sting a human being unless seriously provoked; when they enter a room, their presence is unheeded. His attention

* Cypselus monteoagus, or andecolus.

Digitized by Google

seems to be entirely directed to the chase of larger insects, more particularly the aranæ, the largest of whom do their best to avoid him; and woe be to any other crawling or creeping thing that he discovers whom he may deem a foeman worthy of his steel; and I was told he will fly at a snake, stinging him again and again, and avoiding the bite by the velocity of his movements. I have heard him designated as *amigo del hombrè*.

Left Maniquira, where at 7 A.M. the thermometer stood at 66°, and commenced a long ascent to the plain above. Saw a very beautiful humming-bird of a golden colour, with a tail as long as the body. Plant called munia, with a perfume like wild thyme. Road over barren mountain of schist. Heard that lions (pumas) were very common. The tree known, I think, as the teunia (gen. *polylepis*), resembling a dwarf cypress, with reddish coloured wood, now became common; the bark makes an excellent charcoal: scarcely any other tree in sight. Arrived at Seringamayo, a station in an open ravine. Noticed the great number of small limestone nodules on the hill behind the house such as I had not seen before or since; broke a great many of them without finding anything within. Saw a large and curious black beetle called micomico. Thence to Itarbi; long ascent; elevated plain; found trachyte on the summit.

Digitized by Google

Noticed a plant like the thorny camel-plant of the Punjab. Scarcely a bird to be seen; a few sheep in a square league in the open country. Dined with a family from Centi. Next day ten leagues to Cuchuingenio. After three miles passed a village, Zalabri, with a chapel. Came to foot of pass to Potosi; more verdure, and patches of cultivation like a harlequin's jacket. Met the first llamas I had seen. Barley or oats (cebada) about ten or twelve reals (say 5s.) for an arrobas or 25 lb. Indians in dark blue frocks and jackets with light borders; also wearing loose knee-breeches, with round, flat-brimmed hats. Noticed a species of wheatear and brown and yellow woodpeckers,—the same, I presume, that Dr. Darwin has noticed. They were flying about the elevated plain with scarcely a tree in sight. Black and white hawk or falcon, probably the coraquenque (*Phalebœnus montanus* of D'Orbigny, who thus describes it: black back and breast, blue beak; flame colour thence backwards to the eye; white belly, and tail white, with black bars across at end), whose feathers were worn by the Incas. More llamas; first view of the red conical hill or cerro of Potosi, whence an enormous quantity of silver has been extracted. Rolling hill-tops, sometimes covered with verdure, but bare of trees in every direction. On looking back the ascent seemed to have been made by long steps on the track. The size of Potosi is

Digitized by Google

remarkable after the smaller towns and villages I had passed.

Arrived December 14th, after nine days' march. The city lies a little below the surrounding plain amongst the hill-tops. Great appearance of bustle; thirty-six churches and a cathedral. A few good shops. Narrow and crowded streets. Procured a tolerably comfortable room in the tambo or hostelry, being a large open square with separate and unfurnished rooms round it, so as to resemble in some respects an Eastern serai. Any quantity of dirt. Fodder for mules, sold by Indians, very dear, amounting to twenty or twenty-four reals a day.

December 15.—At 9.30 A.M. temperature in my room with open windows was 56°; at 2 P.M. during rain it was 55°.

Called upon Señor C——, a merchant, brother of my hostess at San Juan, and whom I paid for her *alfalfa*, and was often asked to join this family at dinner. Señor C—— at Tarija had furnished me with an introduction to his son at Potosi, and I was soon agreeably surprised by his bringing with him Mr. W——, an English gentleman, established at Chuquesaca as correspondent for an English commercial house at Tacna, on the coast, but who was obliged to return there after inviting me to become his guest on my arrival.

Milk, principally that of the sheep, is despatched to the city in tin vessels from different

Digitized by Google

farms or cattle stations at a very early hour; and often during a frost, by the time it arrives, after having been shaken for several miles on the mule's or donkey's back, it has assumed the appearance of frozen foam, and is in estimation as a great delicacy, under the name of *Spuma de leche*.

The plaza of Potosi is not large, surrounded with a piazza, nearly taken up by the front of the cathedral, of which as a piece of architecture the Bolivians, who have not travelled, are exceedingly proud, and I am far from adding that they are unreasonably so. On the highest part of the plaza rises the column of Bolivar, surmounted by a figure of Liberty. The houses are white, but for about five feet from the ground are coloured with earth. The roofs are of red tiles, and the balconies, resembling those of Old Spain, are painted with red, green, and yellow. The Profecto, containing the public offices, courts of justice, &c., stands on one side of the plaza. English cutlery and other manufactures are to be obtained in the shops. Two nunneries and one convent of Franciscans, all Spaniards. The city is supplied with water from the artificial tanks or lagunas of San Ildefonso and San Pablo, on the mountain slopes to the south-west: they occupy a space of about a mile in circumference, and are fed by streams from a still higher elevation, running down a very wild and Highland-

Digitized by Google

like glen, which I ascended and found granite. I shot some widgeon there, and ducks with a claret-coloured wing. The flow of water is artificially tanked, managed, and carried off by pipes; sluices are applied to several mill-wheels, and acquire such a momentum in the descent that the open sluices or gutters outside the city are formed in a zigzag, so as to bring the torrent under some previous control. Potosi still contains about 17,000 inhabitants, formerly they amounted to more than 100,000. The Indians there, and in the country immediately around, are much more numerous than the whites. Now that the sources of its prosperity are comparatively exhausted, it was a matter of surprise that the narrow streets should be so thronged. They present at least the appearance of bustle, which is referable to its situation on the high northway, in connection with an increased carrying trade, while its political importance is derived from its containing the national mint, where I saw the same machinery that was in use (as now) in the time of the Spaniards. An alloy of thirty-seven per cent. in the coin of Bolivia was the cause of a recent quarrel with Peru and the Argentine Republic.

Potosi, which signifies "an eruption of silver," was first discovered by an Indian, after lighting a fire. The mines were not worked before the time of the Spaniards, and then first at Porio,

Digitized by Google

ten leagues from Potosi. Cinnabar was known of, but not extracted. To the cerro and the vast quantity of silver yielded by it, the city of Potosi is indebted for its world-wide reputation. The numerous perforations run generally north and south. The most famous, known as the Socabon, runs due North and South. There are upwards of 4,000 places which have been worked at one time or other, and at least twenty-eight actually worked at Potosi, and in the neighbourhood. I contented myself with exploring the Socabon, with a guide and lights, for about a quarter of a mile. All now looked deserted and desolate, and I had to walk in shallow water for the greater part of the distance, but it is said to be continued through for 1,400 yards to the opposite side. The arms of Spain are over the entrance arch, which is built up of stone, and is about ten feet high, and on the northern side the red bare shoulder of the cerro, and the peak itself rises directly behind it to a height of about 3,000 feet above the town, and 16,037 (Pentland) feet above the sea. I ascended to the summit through immense quantities of broken pyrites or bronza, and several people were trying to get silver in small quantities from the residuary ore.*

* The principal mine belongs to a Señor Francisco Ortiz, of Salta, from which some ten to fifteen thousand dollars worth are extracted. The miners each receive one dollar a day; an

Digitized by Google

The entire cerro seems to be, or rather to have been, one mass of trachytic rock containing, besides its minerals, a great quantity of sulphurs. From the top I had a good view of the city, whose outline is that of a barbed arrow head, and also of the surrounding slopes and mountains and plains, generally with an appearance of verdure, and scarcely any wood, but with patches of cultivation spread over the slopes. I struck off and pocketed an egg-shaped piece of rock, being the highest and actual summit. Visited the college, where there were about 120 boys receiving the best education the country could afford. The Museum of Mines is embellished with a full-length portrait of Charles III., who received one-fifth of the produce of the mines; also a portrait of Escorado, an old and distinguished governor of Potosi; and also of Quiroz, who was considered to have paid not less than twenty-four millions of dollars as the aggregate of the Government fifths, due in his life-time. In the museum

ore-carrier gets four reals a day. Numerous donkies were at work, and were stabled on the mountain side; and there are a dozen little chapels for the miners, placed at intervals on the path side. The Socabon was commenced by Berios, and afterwards worked for the King up to the revolution in 1825. A company was then formed, and continued operations up to 1843, when it was broken up, not paying so well as it has formerly; and from all I heard, the inhabitants would be very glad if another were formed with English capital.

Digitized by Google

were some fossil shells, bivalves, found at a spot some three or four leagues distant, on the direct road to La Paz; and it also contained some good specimens, not only of silver and its ore, but of copper, tin, and lead ores. I thought the officer in charge would have shed tears when he told me that he was never able to keep any unusually fine specimens, as they were sure to be stolen. It was, I think, at Potosi that I saw a stuffed rattle-snake skin not less than four inches in diameter, brought from the lower forests. In sketching the plaza I was much interrupted by the people, who crowded in front, and the authorities very obligingly sent me a soldier to keep them back. One young gentleman, who, in spite of civil remonstrances, would persist in placing himself too much in front, was peremptorily told to move by the soldier, and a scuffle ensued, which ended by the latter giving him a heavy fall on the pavement. I thought I had never seen anyone in such a rage before, but he subsequently moved away, and I went to the commandant, accompanied by the soldier, to explain that he was not to blame. The soldier was a *mestizo*, which was an additional source of irritation. The army is only recruited from the white population or Indians of half blood. The Indians, over whom the priests have great influence, are generally well disposed toward the white-Spanish-Bolivians, and it is well, on ac-

Digitized by Google

count of their superior numbers, that they are so.* They generally had a wild and melancholy aspect. Señor C—— was good enough to send for two or three to his house to be sketched. One of them was a young woman with an infant at her back, and her fine Grecian profile, with a quantity of mane-like black hair streaming from a forehead much higher than is usually seen among Indians, contributed to give her an unusually picturesque appearance. Another subject was a young Indian dandy, whose regular and aquiline upper features were spoiled by the great size and thickness of his lips, his hair plaited into a pigtail, and wearing a high conical indigo-coloured cloth hat, with a sort of tassel on the top, and the broad brim lined underneath with dark red cloth.

Being at Potosi at Christmas time I was taken to see some *Naciamentos*, or ornamented representations of the birth of Christ, and different families vie with each other in producing the most magnificent display. One side of the room was usually occupied by the *tableau*, which was brilliant with inanimate figures, with jewelled dresses, gold and silver ornaments, and lights reflected by many mirrors, the expense incurred amounting, in some cases, to hundreds of dollars.

* The returns for 1846 gave 659,398 whites to 701,508 Indians in Bolivia.

Digitized by Google

The inaccuracy of information even from the best (excepting official) sources, with reference to what is going on at any distant locality in these countries, is very remarkable. It was believed that the revolted regiments had retreated under the command of their officers to the confines of Peru, but that they had refused to follow them further, and had lanced, in fact, some or all of them, and this I heard described as a noble trait of patriotism. The refusal of the men was a fact, but the officers had escaped by themselves into Peru, where I subsequently became acquainted with some of them.

The Indians are in the habit of representing the death of the Inca Ahatualpa. I wished much to see this, and at every place I came to was informed that I should be sure to have such an opportunity at some place still in advance, but I never did see it, and at last heard an account from a native lady who had. Pizarro, represented by an Indian in an old uniform and a cocked hat, is sitting in his tent when the unfortunate Inca is brought before him, condemned, and executed; and, when it is too late, a number of Indians appear in the distance, fatigued with the weight of ransom they are bringing, including the massive chain of pure gold, with which they are seen to hurry away when they find it is too late, and are supposed to throw it into a lake.

Digitized by Google

Before quitting Potosi for Chuquesaca I made an excursion to La Laguna de Tarapaya, about twelve miles distant, passing in the way, by means of two bridges, over a torrent rushing through a gorge on the direct road to La Paz. In the centre of it is a recess or chapel, excavated in the solid rock. In the midst of an open partially cultivated valley, formed by the surrounding mountain slopes, some of which were verdant and others grey and barren, I found a slightly elevated lawn, and on the highest part was the laguna, a circular basin, about sixty-five yards in diameter. The water was even with the edge, and boiling furiously in the centre, without much disturbance of the surface, rising from a vast depth to throw its heat quietly without present contact with any internal force. To judge from appearance, it had once been the crater of a volcano, and had risen like a geyser, which had smoothed the slope from it by its constant overflowings. The temperature of the excellent water at the edge was 93° Fahr. Under the precipitous bank I saw but one animal, a species of water-beetle with two antennæ only; several of them were darting about in the hot water, not, however, venturing above a few feet towards the centre. It is said that when the inundation rolled over the shore at Callao, in 1825 (?), the laguna almost disappeared. Saw again the black and yellow woodpecker on the treeless waste.

Digitized by Google

December 27.—Started from Potosi; extended open plain; best general view of the city and the cerro rising very conspicuously behind it, from an angle in the road where it turns round the mountain side. The loose mules led by my extra horse, finding themselves at liberty, broke away over the slopes and detained me for several hours; at last proceeded to Negro Tambo; saw birds resembling the mocking-bird. Proceeded to Barlolo, picturesquely situated at the entrance of a sandstone gorge, and marched over a long rolling pass to the village of Lagunillas, near a reedy lake of the same name about a mile long, at the foot of a sandstone ridge; immense quantity of sandstone in all directions; curious wall of it about 300 yards long, three yards in thickness, and fifty feet high; weather beautiful, but with an occasional shower, resembling that of a fine May day in England; killed some ducks, one of them like the blue-winged shoveller, in the lake the next morning; my host showed me one of their eggs, about an inch and three-quarters in length, of an olive-brown colour with a ring of darker spots near the larger end; beautiful little dwarf flowers on the banks of the lake; vegetation gradually becoming more profuse as we descended, and the teunia-tree common—in fact the only tree in these elevated undulations, where, however, the track could be converted into a carriage road to

Digitized by Google

wind round the deep ravines, which reminded me of the Khuds of the Himalayas, with cultivated plateaux on their sides. A plant resembling a nettle with a beautiful blue blossom, and a species of lupin were becoming common; I again noticed the scoba or broom of the country. A condor was sure to be in sight somewhere, and the first turkey-buzzard was mistaken in the distance for a small eagle; wild and very extensive mountain scenery, with verdure and pasturage, rocky ground, and but little forest; chicha, the maize beer made by the Indians, was for sale at different huts near the track; sheep were more often seen than llamas, and the ash and molle were becoming more common. The track lay along the top of a ridge, whilst sandstone rocks were cropping out on the surface of the country; saw a bird much resembling our English mountain finch. The next morning from Terrado on the ridge to Chuquesaca, ten leagues distant, where I arrived after marching generally over a high, open, hilly, and grassy country, partially cultivated; knocked up Mr. W—— about ten o'clock at night, partook of an excellent English tea-supper, and afterwards repaired to the lodgings he had ready for me.

In the way I had passed the Pilcomayo, here a mere mountain stream, by a bridge. The path winds down to it from a vast height, occupying, with the equally long ascent on the other side

Digitized by Google

from the bridge, a very large proportion of the day. I crossed another stream afterwards. The Pilcomayo is a longer and larger river than the Vermejo, but is not, like it, navigable, and is therefore comparatively useless. Sir W. Parish says that the Jesuits twice attempted to ascend it, but without success, in the last century, exploring it, however, for 1,200 miles, and that Azara ascended it for about twenty leagues in 1785. It rises in the mountains around Potosi, and the distance from the bridge to the place of its junction with the Paraguay, in a direct line, will be about 600 miles. The next morning, January 1st, the mercury stood at 67° in my room at noon. In Sir W. Parish's work, the elevation is marked at 9,343 feet. I suspect that a few years ago, few, but those connected with South America, had ever heard that there was such a place as Chuquesaca:* a name which in Aymara, the Indian language spoken at Oruro and La Pay, signifies "the bridge of *chuque* or gold."† It is a city of about 18,000 inhabitants, with, of course, a plaza, a cathedral, and some handsome streets, some white and stone-built houses, with red roofs, some good shops, four convents,

* Bolivia contains nine departments:—La Mar, or Cobija, or Atacama; Potosi, Tarija, Chuquesaca, or Suere; Santa Cruz, Beni, Cochabamba, Oruro, and La Paz.

† Lat. 19° 30′ S., long. 66° 46′ W., anciently called Los Charcos or La Plata.

Digitized by Google

three of them for women, and three churches, the president's house and general appearance befitting the capital of a large republic. On the side of the ravine, many of the houses are built on piles. In the plaza of San Juan de Dios is a pillar with a cap of liberty on it, built by money forfeited by cheating bakers. There are two colleges in which are more than a thousand students. Everything taught but Greek. Heard that Señor Orelate, of Salta, was the best writer on Bolivian politics.*

* In the law courts the Code Napoléon is partly followed, but more particularly the laws known since April 2nd, 1831, as the Codes Santa Cruz, and which are used in all civil causes. A prisoner on a criminal charge has a right to be defended by his own counsel, and to ask the Judge to appoint one, but at his expense if he can afford to pay; if not, he is defended by a public officer. The Judges have no equitable jurisdiction apart from the strict letter of the law. I did not ascertain by whom it was exercised. Although pleadings, evidence, &c., are generally all put into writing for the consideration of the Judges, I inferred that if all parties agreed to do so, that rule might be dispensed with.

In Chili and Peru the old Spanish laws are still in force, though there is a new Civil Code in Peru, which much interferes with them. The modifications which act upon the old Spanish law generally, have reference to the abolition of any mayorazgos, or rights from primogeniture. In none of the South American Republics is the right of devise so free (illimitado) as to permit a man to leave all his property to one of his children to the exclusion of others. The decisions of law courts in other countries may be quoted, but are not binding as precedents. "The institution most favourable to security (garantias) is that of a jury, as in England," was a remark made to me by an eminent abogado.

Digitized by Google

Of several newspapers published at Chuquesaca and La Paz, *La Epocha* is the principal, but it will easily be understood that the leading articles evince a great leaning towards the powers that be; and besides advertisements the columns are usually filled up with accidents, murders, robberies, fêtes, &c., sometimes with news copied from European papers. I remember reading an article in a Peruvian paper, headed in large letters "Maldicion eterna," in which a mother or sister thus publicly cursed for ever, and by name, two or three people who had, in her opinion, conspired to cause the death of a son or brother.

The prado is a wide and well-kept public walk nearly 450 yards in length, with stone benches on each side at intervals, and is much resorted to. At the foot of it is a small circular chapel, built by President Belzu, in commemoration of his narrow escape, on the spot, from assassination by a pistol shot fired at him (and which wounded him in the head) on the 6th of September, 1850, by a Colonel Morales, a political opponent, on account of a decree in congress by Belzu's adherents in power, adverse to a claim he had advanced. By the admirers of Democracy the appended note* (which may be depended on)

* The first President was General Sucre Mareschal d'Ayacucho, who governed, constitutionally, from 1825 to 1828. Forced to quit Bolivia by General Gamarra, assisted by a

Digitized by Google

is worth reading, to show how events succeed events.

Peruvian army; afterwards assassinated. (*Vide suprà.*) Second, General Blanco, after two months, fell a victim to a revolution under command of Balibian. Third, Mareschal Santa Cruz, a descendant of the Incas, then representing Peru in Chili as minister-plenipotentiary, was proclaimed president (1829), Velasco being named vice-president until his arrival. He remained president, twice elected, until February, 1839. During his presidency (in 1831) the Cortes Santa Cruz were perfected, discussed, and promulgated by the National Congress. Mareschal Santa Cruz was at the same time president of Peru, with the double character of protector of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation. During his absence General Velasco and Balibian effected his fall by heading a revolution against him (1839). Velasco, representing the demagogues, became president; was overthrown by and again in turn overthrew Balibian. The country again pronounced in favour of Mareschal Santa Cruz, which produced an invasion by General Gamarra in favour of the restoration of Peruvian influence, and Colonel Balibian accompanied him; but he changed over to the Bolivian side, and commanded against the Peruvians in the battle of Ingavi, where they were beaten, and Gamarra was killed. Balibian was then president for five years, after which he was driven out by a revolution, and General Belzù became president in 1849. Belzù kept the presidency for the legal time, until 1855, when General Cordova became president, and he in turn was overthrown, after three years, by Dr. Linares, who succeeded, after *nine* revolutionary attempts, and acted more like a dictator than a president up to 1860, when he was imprisoned by three of his officers, one of whom was General Acha, who had attempted a revolution against Belzù when I was at Tarija, and who was named provisional president, in 1861, by the Congress, who had been silent for the last four years. I heard that Belzù once told the deputies that he had had to suffocate thirty-three attempts at revolution. He once unmedalled himself in Congress, and offered to

Digitized by Google

A good house in Chuquesaca, near the plaza, costs from 12,000 to 15,000 dollars. The best coffee is from Las Yungas, about 2s. the pound. Bread is not so cheap in Chuquesaca as in England, the country around being chiefly pastoral. At Cochabamba, considered to be the cheapest place in the republic, it is about half the price. The forage of a horse in Bolivia is from three to four dollars a week; in Peru it is much dearer. Most of the houses in the city have a hiding-place for treasure, and no doubt much is concealed in different places here and throughout the country generally. The President holds levees, but there was but little gaiety during his absence. Went to see a picture belonging to the Marchese Linares, for which I heard 3,000 dollars had been offered: I know not the name of the artist. The subject, burlesqued, was the expulsion of Adam and Eve for being "golosos" (fond of sweetmeats): such was the idea which the picture was intended to convey.

resign, but was continued as president with extraordinary powers in time of revolutionary attempts. At the time I am writing, General Acha is the actual president, and has given proofs of a patriotic and conciliatory spirit. The revolutionary movements at La Paz in October and November, 1861, were set on foot by the partisans of Linares and Fernandez, and those at Chuquesaca in 1862 by the friends of Belzù. The sanguinary executions which took place were the result of party spirit and revenge, and the Government had no part in them. Letters lately received represent the state of parties as still much disturbed.

Digitized by Google

In the absence of cricket, boating, picnics, &c., the Chuquesacans amuse themselves on Sundays and fête-days with regular pitched battles, fought across a large ravine, with slings and stones, one parish against another; and as they set to work in good earnest, of course a severe contusion is often inflicted. I watched them once for half an hour, and two people were struck—one very severely, in the face, who instantly desisted, and was surrounded by others, who left off to see what mischief had been done. During the carnival the Indians are in the habit of deliberately slinging quinces at a friend's head from the nearest possible distance behind.

In some mining districts the miners are allowed to keep all the silver they can get out of the mine between Friday night and Monday morning, and often spend it in drink, occasionally buying champagne, such as it is, in the city, and then fling the bottles at each other, often, as may be supposed, doing severe execution. Those who still persist in the search for "the lost tribes" will be interested in hearing that when an Indian builds a hut he kills a llama, and strikes, so I was informed, the door-posts and the four corners of the room with the bleeding head. An Indian lives with his consort for twelve months previously to their marriage, by which conventual and convenient arrangement they have the advantage of judging whether they like each other

Digitized by Google

or not; and a widow is usually preferred, thinking that from experience she will make him a better wife. An Indian woman is, on this account, often several times married, particularly the widows of those who are employed in the mines. The poor Indian miners and blasters wear themselves out in a few years with hard labour and spirit drinking, and I was assured of one then living married woman who had been a widow fourteen times.

The Spaniards soon found out that Indian experience had selected the most eligible position for their villages, and showed their judgment by almost invariably adopting them as the site of an intended town or settlement. Chuquesaca is remarkable for its clear sky and fine atmosphere. It is built at the edge of an open space now nearly bare, but at a convent on the upper edge of the town is a large tree (name forgotten), said to be one of a forest formerly covering that part of the country, whose surface is partially divided by verdure and cultivation, with different ranges of hills in view. I ascended to the summit of the low mountain behind it, which possesses an interest as being the apex of a watershed, from which, through a ravine sloping downwards to the city on its flank, a small stream descends to the Pilcomayo and the Parana, and on the other side rises another which, through the channel of the Rio Grande and the Madeira, may be proud as a tributary to the Amazon.

Digitized by Google

A few years ago the Bolivian Government, actuated by a wish to exclude foreigners from the internal trade of the country, and confining the use of foreign manufactures to the coast, for the purpose of giving a protected advantage to their own, ordered an English agency house at Chuquesaca to be closed, and it remained so for more than a year, by which a loss of some thirty thousand dollars was incurred. Our ministers—the Hon. F. Bruce, afterwards in Egypt, and now in China, and his successor, Col. Lloyd—pressed the claim for compensation, and the latter also urged another claim for a still larger amount for a commercial house at Valparaiso under similar circumstances, but the application was not successful. Col. Lloyd asked for his passport after an irritating interview with Belzù. Having reason to call the President's attention to some intelligence he had received from Peru, the former only replied, "Cuentas, cuentas!" (Reports merely!) but twice again repeating his assertions with a view of enforcing his opinion of its importance, the President lost his temper, and exclaimed to an aide-de-camp, "Procurame que salja esto hombre!" Such is the story I heard at second hand from an officer present. Diplomatic relations with Bolivia were consequently suspended for about two years, but are now happily resumed. Peru would not have lost much, and

Digitized by Google

Bolivia would have gained a great deal, if the ports of Tacna and Arica, or at all events the latter, had been assigned to her by Bolivar when arranging the confines; it seems to have been a mistake of the Liberador. At present Bolivia is aptly compared to a house without a window, having only one small port, that of Corija; and has to pay duties imposed by Peru when sending to or importing goods from either of the two ports mentioned; but it is not likely that Peru will part with her advantages in respect to them.

Captain Gore had informed me from Monte Video that I was undertaking a very perilous journey, as we had no diplomatic representative in the country; but I was fortunately in possession of an introduction to the President from his son-in-law, whom I met in Buenos Ayres on his way as accredited minister to Paris, in return for an introduction to Captain Warner, of a steamer which was to take them to Rio Janeiro. I therefore had the honour of calling upon him at La Paz, and my bow was always returned with courtesy by himself and his minister, but I received no invitation to dinner or any other attention.

With the exception of Mexico and Lima, perhaps there is no city in America which has been the recipient of so much wealth as Chuquesaca. The rich miners of Potosi and other places retired there to pass the latter part of

Digitized by Google

their lives, but squandered their wealth in ostentatious presents to the magnates and ladies in favour at the Spanish Court. Don José Quiroga died possessed of the enormous sum of 100,000,000 dollars, besides his mines then in full work. He had also paid the king's dues to the amount of twenty-seven millions, and given forty millions for the reconstruction of Potosi and the city works when destroyed by a flood from the lagunas. Some three millions of dollars have been extracted from his mines in later times; and the author of the "Estadistica de Bolivia" mentions that he had seen the lemons and small figures of gold with which he ornamented the flower-bearing shrubs contributed upon the occasion of a public fête given by him in consequence of some preferment bestowed upon his son.

I now quitted Chuquesaca, the way at first lying over open downs intersected by deep ravines or quebradas. A few miles on the way to Cochabamba I passed a very agreeable afternoon, and partook of an excellent dinner at the wayside residence of M. Leon Fabre, the French Chargé d'Affaires. There was, so I understood, a coolness also between France and Bolivia—from what cause I forget—and M. Fabre had retired to his country residence, in a beautiful open spot on the side of a ravine, watered by a clear stream which afterwards joins the Rio Grande. He was a naturalist as well as a

Digitized by Google

politician, and amongst other information he told me he had killed a white condor, probably so from disease of the feathers. Encamped by the stream side near Loje, and the rain during the night made me more and more regret that I had not accepted M. Faber's hospitable invitation to remain till the morning. After a fatiguing march over mountain-paths I descended to the Rio Grande, which was luckily fordable, and about fifty or sixty yards wide, with pools and open spaces and cliffs at intervals. In the forest were Sevilla-blanca and tiba trees, molles, cabrachos, lapachos, &c. Encamped by the river there—about a quarter of a mile in breadth. The Rio Grande is a feeder of the Amazons—the upper stream, in fact, of the Mamosè, which it passes near Santa Cruz de la Sierra,—and was running with that strong and headlong pace by which, as if they were being drawn forward, as I have observed, the head waters of a large river may usually be distinguished; but its rapidity is to be accounted for by its descent into the plains. Saw a large green parrot or lory, with flame colour on the wing, and a long tail. The large gaudy-coloured macaws are usually to be seen in pairs, never, it is said, singly, and often at a considerable height, as if on a flight to a distance.

A fatiguing march of eleven leagues occupied the next day. Passed Quiroga about midday;

Digitized by Google

along a pretty cultivated valley, up the beds of streams, and over three or four hill-crests; encamped late on open ground one league from Ayquilli, containing about 1,000 people.

January 29.—Delicious morning; open green undulating country, with some very high, distant, and snowy mountains in view, probably spurs from the southern end of the Bolivian Andes. Arrived at Mishque after a long and tiring march, encamping at two miles' distance from the town, as the inhabitants are not considered to be of the first water for honesty with reference to mules and horseflesh. As we passed through the town I observed that they were generally very handsome, and the women with prettier features than I had seen in Bolivia; noticed the tree called santa rosa with long thorns and a rose-like red flower; also the haranja and limone del campo, the fruit of no known value; two trees, blanco and colorado, both like an olive; the thornless algeroba with its long pods, and the mistol, whose fruit is also edible. The situation of Mishque is very picturesque, on a plain nearly surrounded by a low sloping mountain, with verdure everywhere and herds of sheep and cattle on the pasturage. Thought the road on the next day's march was a disgrace to the two large towns between which it lies—full of primeval ascents and descents, and along rocky mountain ridges. Formerly Mishque contained three

Digitized by Google

convents and an hospital, and was famous for the quantity of wine made there, but now rather for aji or red pepper, and it is said by the natives to be a feverish place, because the aji has been found to grow there in perfection.

Encamped in an open plain called Ayapampa; lofty waterfall about a mile from it on the right of the road; horses broke away in the night—recovered with difficulty; put up some large quail of the country. Next day found khenua-trees in the hollows on the pathside; trachyte and scoba; plant resembling the daphne; road up and down on the mountain sides, at last ascending to an undulating green plain with several streams on it; view of valley of Aranca from great height; long descent; Indian muleteers miss their way; rode about the streets of the village and called on the corregidor, who was absent, but remained at the house; Saint Aranca buried here in the Franciscan convent; monks come to say mass at Cochabamba, but do not go out otherwise; baths; road over a flat plain about thirty miles in length; villages Clisa and Tarrata; saw a drunken Indian who had dislocated his ancle, and was lying by the roadside: his poor wife sat by him in the greatest distress, unable to help him, and there was a peculiar glare in his naturally wild eyes, indicative of fear and horror, such as is noticeable in the eye of a wounded animal, as the pain gradually

Digitized by Google

sobered him to a sense of his situation. Tried to get some people to carry him to the next hut; gave them some money, and some cooling medicine to the Indian, but was obliged to leave him. Mud huts; numerous wild ducks; large herds of cattle and a great many mules on the road; the scenery reminded me of the plains in Kashmir, between Islinabad and the city. At Clisa there is a large fair and cattle-market every Sunday, certain dues going to the nunnery of Santa Clara at Cochabamba. I was told that the Government thought of selling them for the benefit of the State, but nobody would purchase, as the next president might restore their claim. Having lost sight of the baggage, I had to ask my way. A drunken fellow at a wayside house was directing me wrongly, but a woman came out and corrected him. I saw by her earnestness she was right, and soon afterwards met the muleteer coming back to look for me. Upon turning round the shoulder of a mountain rising directly from the plain I suddenly came in sight of Cochabamba, about a league distant. Arrived late, and riding armed in the plaza by moonlight, I soon became an object of attention, and was asked for my passport by the Governor himself, who happened to be among the pedestrians. I was requested to walk into the guard-house until I had produced it, and was kept there with a black sentry whilst it was examined. However,

Digitized by Google

in a short time I was summoned to the police, where I was glad to find an officer to whom I had been introduced at Chuquesaca, and my strongly-worded passport, with Captain Gore's signature, was returned with expressions of regret. Finding the posada utterly uninhabitable, on account of its filth, I repaired at once to the house of a French merchant, M. B——, to whom I had an introduction, who, late as it was, immediately opened his house for me and provided me with comfortable quarters, kindly requesting me to consider them as my own during my stay. I also found there two French gentlemen whose names I regret to have forgotten: one, I understood, a merchant at Santa Cruz de la Sierra, who was suffering from fever, and another who, for commercial purposes, traversed, if I remember aright, the continent from Rio by the same route, or nearly, as that travelled by M. Castelnau. Heard from him of a fish, called bufeo by the Portuguese, said by the Indians to combine with the beavers to kill the alligator; and that, if a serpent seize a beaver, the others pull the reptile to pieces.

Two or three of the officials paid me a visit of courtesy the next morning. I understood that Mareschal Santa Cruz, another claimant to the presidency, was supposed to have agents in the country, and I was at first suspected the preceding evening of being one. They seem to

Digitized by Google

be jealous of foreigners; and I was credibly informed that at one time a sort of proclamation was drawn up, in connection with the narrow-minded restrictions upon commerce I have alluded to, in which it was asserted that they demoralized the country, or containing expressions to that effect, but that upon reperusal it was pronounced too bad to be published.

Called upon the prefect, and gave to him my letter of introduction to President Belzù, with a request that he would forward it to him to La Paz, which he promised to do. Heard of the battle of Inkerman, by letters from Lima, which had been received on the 2nd of February. Walked to hill outside the town, from which there was an excellent view of the place and its environs. People there eating algeroba pods. Cochabamba or pampa, which contains upwards of 30,000 persons, signifies "the marshy plain;" Orissa is the old name given by the Spaniards. Two lines about a mile in length, one from the south, the other from the west, and meeting at right angles, would designate the outline boundary of the city and its gardens, in the direction of the mountains under which it lies. The sierra, coming from the west, under which there is a beautiful strip of verdure twelve miles in extent, is, I believe, of great height, but its summits cannot be seen from Cochabamba, a small quantity of snow only being visible. It is

Digitized by Google

marked in the older maps as Sierra Altissima, and runs due east for several days' march, when it descends upon the forests of the plains traversed by the Rio Grande, and looks down upon the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The cathedral is in the plaza. The houses of Cochabamba are, as usual, white, with red gutter-tiles on the roofs. In the outskirts are orchards, mixed with algeroba-trees, numerous gardens, and innumerable rows of poplars around them, so much so as to appear remarkable; and at a short distance is a small lake, where, as I never moved without a gun, I occasionally shot some wild ducks, and found both large and small partridges.

February 10.—Thermometer in my room 68°, in the sun 80°; water boiled at 197°, 7,500 feet; 95° in the shade was the average heat of warm days. Saw the college library; some 350 students learning algebra, mathematics, philosophy, natural history, French, and Latin. Two *Escuelas primerias* prepare them for college. The Alameida is more in the country than usual; the screen or entrance gateway is rather a curious piece of architecture. Bird like a mocking-bird. Told of a plant named sapaonane, which, when bruised, is applied by the Indians for headache, which it increases at first; another, zapatilla, used also by them as a laxative; and the leaf of the matico, velvety on one side,

Digitized by Google

is applied to a fresh wound, and has the effect of drawing out any foreign substance which impedes the cure.

In 1852 a Revista or Review was started at Cochabamba, but died of politics after a few months. Several articles treated of the navigation of the Rio Grande. But Cochabamba is of rising importance as a manufacturing town, and some five hundred looms are at work making "Tacuyu," in imitation of what in our manufacturing districts is known as the "grey domestic," an unbleached and very strong calico cloth, of which large quantities are sent to South America, and is almost universally worn. The native society, I believe, in no respect differs from that of other places, but it was agreeably diversified by the hospitality I received, and by occasional visits to cala-cala or country houses in the environs, to eat fruit, and sip chocolate or coffee, or partake of something more substantial in the houses of different friends. I was one day taken to see a negress child in the house who was thought to be dying of hooping cough, whereupon I took my medical *vade-mecum* to the best chemist in the place, and at last found that he had one of the necessary medicines, and its immediate application saved the child's life, for which I got immense credit.

In Potosi, Chuquesaca, and Cochabamba, the Indians speak Quichua; in Oruro half of them

Digitized by Google

speak Quichua, and half Aymara; in La Paz, all Aymara; between Cordova and Tucuman, the Aymara is spoken, as if by a colony that had gone south.* The Amayras at La Paz, it is said, look forward some day to be strong enough to drive out the whites.

Twenty-five leagues north of Cochabamba is a stream that has been very successfully washed for gold. Mining began in 1740, owing to a discovery by a person who had lost his way.

The track to Santa Cruz de la Sierra quits that from Potosi to Cochabamba three days before arriving at the latter place; some six or seven days are occupied in the march from the place of junction. The city, which may be termed the last on the verge of civilization to the eastward, is situated amongst the primeval forest on the plain, and is consequently an excellent place for forming a collection of birds and quadrupeds. The Rio Grande flows at no great distance from it, and there is a way to it across the continent from Janeiro by way of Matto Grosso (?), which has been described by M. Castelnau. I did not like the account I heard of the intense heat there. The female

* In the Indian languages generally, there is a name for a dog, *anocara*, which would go far to prove that the animal was indigenous, but none for the horse, cow, or sheep. Of the common terminations to the names of places, *poquio* signifies a fountain; *mayu*, a river; and *cocha*, a lake or morass.

Digitized by Google

population (about 6,000) is said to be so much in excess of the male as almost to justify polygamy.*

* The original city of Santa Cruz was first founded in 1557, more to the eastward, in lat 20°, and within forty leagues of the Paraguay, but afterwards deserted in favour of the present city, at first called, *El nobile Ciudad de San Lorenzo de la Frontera*, but the old name subsequently prevailed. Its productions are unsurpassed for richness and variety. Wild cotton of the finest quality, cochineal, rice, sugar, coffee, cocoa, tobacco, as good as those of any other country; tamarinds, honey, beeswax, tortoiseshell, cordage of fibre as strong as hemp; hides and skins of wild animals, sarsaparilla, sassafras, ipecacuanha, copaiva, caoutchouc, various woods, nutmegs, cinnamon, chinchona, and gold in the streams, and no doubt innumerable botanical treasures are hidden in its vast and unexplored forests. There is scarcely one of the South American cities that does not enjoy the advantage of being situated near the attainable head-waters of either the Amazons to the north or the Paraguay to the south. The navigation of the Mamorè is a leading idea at Cochabamba. It is about thirty-five leagues of mountain track thence to the first port or place of embarkation, in canoes only, on the Chapare; thence about five leagues further to Chimorè, another port, where the stream, Colonel Lloyd tells us, is wide and navigable as the Thames in London. Here is a village of Yuracarè, Indians partly civilized by three monks, sent as missionaries from Tarata convent, near Cochabamba. The Chaporè enters the Mamorè, joins the Guipoi or Rio Grande, which I had crossed after leaving Chuquesaca, and finally unites itself with the great river Madeira. The port on the Rio Grande nearest to Santa Cruz is called *Quatro ojos*. In 1851 the rivers Ucayali, Huallaja, Mamorè, and the Madeira were well explored by Lieutenants Herndon and Gibbon, of the United States navy. The length of the Madeira, from its head-waters, where I crossed it, to its junction with the Amazons, is 1,750 miles, some fifty miles more than that of the Indus; and the Amazons, at more than

Digitized by Google

February 14.—Started from Cochabamba along the flat valley, with the sierra rising on the right. Numbers of Indians and others coming to market bringing fruit, flowers, vegetables, meat, &c., and merchandise on mules' backs. Mud huts and mud walls by the roadside, which was now and then traversed by a mountain-stream making its way to the verdant plain on the left. High peaks at the upper end of the valley, which there turns southward, became more apparent. Passed the first ascent of the hills to

the same distance from the ocean, is marked on the maps as a mile in width, and seventy-two feet in depth. The great Indian rivers are mere rivulets in comparison with this mighty stream. In consequence of information given to Lieutenant Gibbon, Colonel Miller, from Cusco, and subsequently Mr. Dana, on behalf of the United States, came to Bolivia, to treat about opening the navigation, but, I believe, with no practical results. Mr. Dana proposed to treat for a large tract of land, for a settlement, in the heart of the country, between the Beni and the Ytenes. In 1853, President Belzù published a decree, freeing the navigation of these rivers from duties, &c. Little or nothing has, however, been done in the way of navigation from Cochabamba, and the seventeen cascades or rapids on and near the Madeira are impediments, which, unaided, Bolivian enterprise is not likely to surmount for many years to come (*vide* a paper on the southern affluents of the river Amazons, by Haenke, &c., communicated by Sir Woodbine Parish, F.R.S., read April 13, 1835. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. V.). At Palta Cueva, about a day and a half's march on the old Spanish road to Moxos, and eastward of Cochabamba, there is, I was informed, a magnificent and extensive view over the country, in the direction of Beni.

Digitized by Google

a small laguna; shot ducks. Two loose horses and a mule ran off. Arriero detained till next morning. Joined on the way by a gentlemanly young officer going back to his regiment after leave. Halted at Sutimara, a village near a stream of the same name running to Cochabamba. Whilst sitting in a room and waiting for the arriero the door was suddenly opened; an old woman rushed in, seized a chair, and nearly broke her neck in trying to reach from it a little print of Saint Anthony which was hanging on the wall. I inquired what was the matter, and was told that the poor woman had lost her cow, and had borrowed the picture of the saint in order to burn a taper before it by way of propitiating his assistance. I inquired the next morning, and was sorry to hear she had not yet recovered her property.*

On the way to a small town, Tapacaré, I

* Those who know the Indians best say there is a marked variety amongst them. The Chiriguanos differ from the Quichuguas and the Aymaras. The Mojos and Chiquitos are remarkable for their ingenuity. The Guarayos and Sirionos are evidently descendants of a mixed race from the first Spanish settlers. The Guarayos have large heads, thick lips, small noses and chins, large sparkling eyes, are robust and intelligent, easily learning a trade, and after a residence of six months in a city, acquire Spanish, and exercise their trades, remaining only distinguishable from the Mestizos or half-breeds by their eyes and noses. The Guarayos are hospitable; the Sirionos are more savage.—Bosquec, Estadistica de Bolivia, Chuquesaca, 1851.

Digitized by Google

noticed sandstone, a schistose formation and trachyte becoming more and more common. A tree with long pointed leaves.

February 17.—Whilst sketching the plaza at Tapacaré, a man in authority came up to ask what I was about. Started and rode forward with a miner, who, I remember, informed me that bronce is the name for pyrites. Long but not difficult ascent. Descended a little to Tchaka. Weather very cold. Indians. Halted at the Tambo, where a detachment of troops were also passing the night. Lizards; no trees.

February 18.—Wet morning. To Condorchenoca. Condors numerous. March over elevated downs, the first real downs I had seen. Slaty rocks cropping out perpendicularly. Numerous llamas. Shot a vecuna. These smallest of the three South American camels are often to be seen, usually in small flocks, in any open country in these latitudes. In the distance they would be taken for deer, but have a longer neck; colour light reddish, brown, or white; when nearer their genus is seen, being indicated by the movement of both legs on the same side at once; the eye full, dark, and very beautiful. Their habits are curious: the females remain in the background looking on, whilst the male comes forward, often within a hundred yards, looks at the mules, and then utters or bleats out a peculiar cry, or rather a succession of a dozen whistled

Digitized by Google

notes, timed and dying away somewhat, I thought, like the vibrations of a stone moving along the surface of ice. I shot but one, and ate of the roast meat at Oruro, much resembling a fine-grained mutton, and would be very good if fattened. Part of the fleece, which is very soft, is about two inches in length, slightly wavy. A priest in Peru succeeded in crossing the vecuna and the alpaca, and obtained about fifty mules with a singularly fine fleece and good staple. His picture, with his arm round the neck of one of them, has been most deservedly placed in the museum at Lima.

Four leagues more to Oruro, over a vast open plain, mountains rising in it like islands, a strong mirage contributing to their isolation; one of them, as seen from Oruro, was, I was informed, nearly one mass of loadstone. On the elevations were guernacos, looking like so many red deer; on the plains were numerous vecunas, almost mixing with the herded cattle; and, besides wild fowl in the pools and streams, I shot several chorlitos, or dotterel, having the woodcock or painter's feather in the wing—a very game-looking little bird, rising with a flight resembling that of a snipe, but more regular, and usually keeping nearer the ground; the legs, feet, and figure like that of a dotterel, with a general greyish brown and game-like plumage; size about that of an English redwing.

Digitized by Google

I rode into Oruro on the first day of Carnival, but luckily escaped being pelted by the crowd I found near the gate. The Governor was giving a grand dinner at the time, whilst I repaired to the hospitable roof of Mr. H——, an English gentleman, connected with the mines there, to whom I had an introduction, and who was absent at the Governor's dinner.

Oruro, a mere shadow of its former self, stands on the edge of the treeless plain, at the foot of the bare and rugged hill containing the mines, which, during the time of the Spaniards, attracted a population of some 80,000; its present inhabitants numbering about 6,000. At Oruro and in the environs there are five or six silver mines now in work; and 1,215 of silver, and about 200 of gold, now deserted. It is protected by a fort on the edge of the plain. I visited the principal mine, San José, in company with my host and a French gentleman and geologist, also connected with the company which is working them, and arrived at the extreme end of it, about 350 yards from the mouth, where, after remaining for twenty minutes, the heat and rarity of the air being increased by the numerous torches that were carried with us, we were glad to revisit the open day. The adit was in no way remarkable, running N.W. and S.E., and being, I think, of nearly the same size the whole distance, some seven or eight feet in width, with a

Digitized by Google

height that enabled us to walk about without much stooping. Thermometer stood at 85° in the sun, and at the upper end of the mine at 76°. I do not trouble my readers with the details of the statistics connected with the mine. On the way there, I was shown the spot where, some 150 years ago, the roof of the large chamber fell in, inflicting death upon nearly 700 miners, chiefly, no doubt, Indians.

Having seen a little of the society at Oruro, where I remember that a lady from Tarija was rejoiced to be able to hear from me something of her friends there, I was glad to accompany my host in an excursion he was about to make to some tin mines, at a place named Florida, some two days' march distant. Shot ducks (chorlitos), which were excellent eating, on the plain in the way to the first halting-place at Sorro-Sorro. The hills and plain covered with ecorsonera, a furze-like plant, a kind of lupin; and munia, resembling wild thyme. Saw vecunas and deer. Drank of a refreshing liquid, called quichua de quina, the seed of which plant is first washed, then boiled; sugar is added, and the liquid is allowed to ferment.*

* The bellows machinery in connection with the blast furnaces at Florida is moved by a water-wheel, the establishment being on no great scale. The ore, I was told, contains about fifty per cent. of tin, the vein from a foot to a yard and a half in width in a matrix of a quartz, and runs north-east and

Digitized by Google

I made an excursion from Florida to the valley of the Acoaco stream, running north-east and south-west. Fish somewhat resembling the dog-fish of our southern coast. Killed a widgeon with a head pencilled like the mallard's wing underneath; saw yellow bird resembling the sparrow in its habits. Indian dog like a Scotch colley, but not so handsome. Rock up the glen porphyritic, cropping out above the soil, and dropping down with mural sides from a great height into the stream. Condors, sandpipers, doves; bird like a thrush; bird with yellow on the back, otherwise like the blackbird. Bare hills with large cactus (cardon), wild thyme, furze plant, lupins. The Indians are said to know of rich tin-ore, but will not speak of it; the working it would spoil the pasture for their cattle. The Indians here never begin to work a new vein without killing a sheep in the mine, eating the flesh, and burying the bones; never begin smelting in a new furnace without sprinkling the four corners of the building with blood. They think that particular places are haunted by spirits, and seek omens in

south-west three leagues to another mine, Morrococala. There are four tin districts, or *minerales*, in and about Oruro; the range of hills there extend about twelve miles. The district Carangas is about forty-four leagues south-west of Oruro; sulphur is found there. The ore at Oruro contains about fifty per cent. of tin; the silver in it varies. Water boiled at 186° (14,000 feet?), and on the 4th of March the thermometer stood at 92° in the sun at 10 A.M.

Digitized by Google

fried coca leaves.* If, in frying, the whiter underside is uppermost, the omen is good. They kill a deformed lamb, saying that a devil has been born. If the shadow of the condor passes over the loaded mules, it is considered to be a good omen; if vecunas cross their path it is a bad one. An Indian who has once worn trousers has lost caste as a true Indian. Some of the Indians are very rich, possessing, for instance, 10,000, 15,000, or 20,000 dollars, and have silver plates, dishes, and drinking-cups. Indian women (and men sometimes) usually have a silver or horn spoon suspended round their necks ready for use. An Indian left not less than 3,000 dollars to have himself buried with masses, &c., in first-rate style; but the heir only gave the curé half the sum, because he had not fulfilled the stipulated conditions, having met the procession half way instead of coming to the house. Sometimes a rich Indian, persuaded by the priests, undertakes to defray the expenses of a charity sermon, or some religious ceremony, for the benefit of the church, and he is then usually to be seen standing at the door with a white wand and new wide-awake hat, as being decidedly the first man of the day, and receiving from the officiating priest a public and favourable notice of himself and his munificence. The power of endurance in

* Erythroxylon coca.

Digitized by Google

an Indian is marvellous. During the presidency of Balibian, Indians travelled on foot in twenty-six hours the 120 miles between Oruro and La Paz, returning after a halt of two days; and I was credibly informed of one who had performed forty-two leagues in twenty-eight hours, supporting himself chiefly by chewing the mysterious coca leaf.

Waterproof bags filled with coca might be held in readiness to throw into a boat in case of shipwreck or fire at sea. M. Castlenau, I observe, has advocated the same opinion. A refreshing tea is also made from it: I frequently drank it.

A terribly black cloud broke over the plain of Oruro, and next morning the plain in different places was partly under water. From Oruro part of the snowy range of the Bolivian Andes is seen rising majestically over the horizon to the northward. The Illimanni is hidden by an intervening peak. The road is continued over the plain, where I saw guernacos and vecunas, and villages dotted here and there, resembling children's toys when seen in the distance. A cargo mule is here hired at a real (5d.) a league, with an additional medio for each mule to the men in charge. About eleven leagues beyond Caracol, which is about eight leagues from Oruro, I passed an old redoubt known everywhere as the Redutta Vieja, and celebrated, though I have forgotten on what great occasion, during the

Digitized by Google

war of independence. After sleeping at Aroma, I rode a mile out of the track into the middle of the plain of Sicca-Sicca, to inspect the old white buildings—perhaps burial-places of the Indians—known as the Chalcas, each about twelve feet high and ten in length, and hollow, the entrance lancet shaped, with an attempt at a Gothic border round it. There were six distinct buildings, some with two tombs, built apparently of a paste of trachyte, none being visible around. In all of them were numerous human bones, but very few skulls. I was not able to find anything connected with their history: they were probably the tombs of chiefs, or used as guard-houses to watch the plain. Saw a woodpecker, where there were no trees in sight, with a golden wing, and doves with black quills. Long and very gentle ascent. Green plant called tola, common on the plain. Passed the night in the tambo or hostelry at Ayre, a small town. The men were dressed in shirt, jacket, breeches, stockings, sandals, and blue poncho; women in petticoat, jacket, and poncho,—both wearing wide-awake hats. Saw a beautiful dove with gold-like scapular feathers. A vecuna came up within shot, but did not fire at it. In three more days' march over the plain, with a scarcely perceptible descent, I reached its edge, and suddenly looked down upon the city of La Paz, some five or six hundred feet below in per-

Digitized by Google

pendicular depth, and lying on the opposite side of the valley, through which in a rocky bed the head-waters of the Beni are rapidly and incessantly making their way. The Indians were formerly compelled to kneel for a moment and cross themselves when they first came in view of "the City of Peace." The city of La Paz was founded in 1548, and peopled by the partizans of Pizarro and Almagro, after they had made peace.* The city standard bears these lines :—

"Los discordes en concordia
Amor y paz se juntaron
Y pueblo de paz fundaron
Para perpetua memoria."

The high, snowy, heavy-looking mass of the Illimanni Mountain, the highest of the Bolivian Andes excepting Sorata, rises majestically on the right over a low intervening range at about thirty

* In the general rising of the Indians in 1780, La Paz sustained two sieges by them, and would have been entirely destroyed by 14,000 of them, had they not been dispersed by a body of troops collected from the other cities of Bolivia, then called Alto Peru. In 1846 there were four Indians to one white in the department of La Paz; and La Paz claims the honour of having been the first city in all Spanish America to proclaim her independence, and form a "Junta Tutiva," on the 16th July, 1809.

Bolivia contains 53,218 square Spanish leagues. In 1847 the population was 2,323,890, including the Indians, reckoned at 760,000; while Peru had about 2,400,000, the Brazils about 5,000,000, and Mexico rather more than 8,000,000.

Digitized by Google

miles' distance, far more elevated than the rest of the snowy range in sight. It is the last high mountain of the chain to the southward, and its vast slopes dip down towards the east and appear to be gradually blended, first into the lower hills and then into the great central and forested plain. Went to a wretched posada. The difficulty is to find a secure place for mules, and a person who will look after them without cheating both them and their owner in the matter of provender; and an Indian put in charge of them, and to whom, in a fit of confidence, I had given some money in advance, was one morning not forthcoming. I waited upon the President, General Belzù, to whom I had already forwarded the introduction given me by his son-in-law at Buenos Ayres, and he and his minister received me, and always returned my bow with all courtesy, but gave me neither hospitality nor assistance. I subsequently, however, managed, not without difficulty, to procure a good room overlooking the plaza, with the President's house in view, which I thought the handsomest building I had seen since leaving Buenos Ayres. Near it was a paled space, enclosing the foundations of a cathedral which was expected to be the finest in the republic. In front of my window was the college, also unfinished, with the rounded top of the Illimanni in the distance, and in the centre of the plaza people were drawing water from a

Digitized by Google

large and copious fountain, whilst in the open space were monks, friars, nuns, soldiers, peasants, llamas, Indians, and Indian women, the latter wearing a loose blue dress and hood, and on it an enormous hat, flat and apparently star-shaped, with four corners, and a piece of black velvet thrown over and hanging loosely to a depth of seven or eight inches round it. The horses of a lancer guard were usually picketted in front of the President's house. The cavalry seat in these countries is remarkable to a European. The heel is slightly raised, the toe pointed so as to rest rather in than on the stirrup, so that a strong grasp with the knees becomes necessary in order to preserve the position, and the rider never sits by balance. In the morning there was usually a review of the two crack regiments of Bolivia—one of them named the "Illimanni." Most of the men were short, stout, and active-looking, with more or less of Indian blood in them, but none but Mestizos are enlisted. The uniform all red, having a gaudy appearance, but well adapted for the native eye. I saw no manœuvring, the space not being large enough, nor did they form square; but the line was broken into companies and massed in columns, and then re-formed into line, whilst the firing from the one side or the other was incessant, from old muskets bearing the Tower mark. They are said to be at least as good troops as

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LA PLAZA LA PAZ, BOLIVIA

Digitized by Google

any others in the South American republics. The standing army of Bolivia consists of four regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, and two companies of artillery, amounting in 1846 to 2,669 men.

I occasionally saw the President and his officers throwing handfuls of small coin from the window, to be scrambled for by the chulos or peasants, Indians, &c., forming the crowd beneath. As this was done on consecutive days, I thought what a capital opportunity it afforded him for a practical lecture on socialism and an equal division of property, to be preceded by a demand for a show of hands by those who had and those who had not retained what they had picked up on the previous day. In the corner of the plaza was the house of Mr. M——, an English chemist, whose society, with the additional advantage of a very good library, was coveted by everyone of superior education; and it contributed not a little to make my time pass less heavily. My stay was much extended by my not being able to procure a travelling servant in whom I could repose any confidence. A chemist is considered in law to be a sort of public servant, and the licence is granted with a stipulation that someone should always be on the spot; and some great man having called when Mr. M—— was absent, the law was put in force against him whilst I was there in the

Digitized by Google

shape of a small fine, with the prospect of imprisonment for non-payment. Although this arrangement is not quite compatible with the liberty of the subject, yet, with few chemists in proportion to the population, it did not appear a very unreasonable measure. Dr. H——, an Englishman, was practising as a medical man, but was induced to join a gold-seeking expedition to the eastward of the Illimanni; I do not know with what success. The place is known as the Cajones, some twelve or fourteen days' march from La Paz, about half the distance being performed on foot. One place, I understood, was being worked by a company under the superintendence of a French engineer. In the Museum of Madrid is a celebrated pepita of native gold weighing fifty pounds, found near La Paz. The proceeds from the Cajones were said to be very satisfactory.

I received much kind and well-timed hospitality from the family of a French merchant, and I well remember at his table some fish from the Lake of Titicaca dressed in paper, like red mullet, and scarcely inferior in flavour; it was called "humento," about ten inches in length, nearly half of which is occupied by the head. The others commonly known are the suché, about eighteen inches in length; the boga, not quite so large; and the caracha, of a blue colour, of about the same size as the boga, and more

Digitized by Google

abundant than either. A plant called cachayuyu is brought from the banks of the Lake of Titicaca, and eaten on Fridays and fast-days.

Mr. C——'s son accompanied me on a duck-shooting expedition to a lake at Achocalla, a few miles from La Paz, and as it was late when we returned we were arrested by a watchman we met, who walked by the side of our horses till he met another, and so on, till he fell in with a third, and we were finally detained at the police office for half an hour, until it was ascertained that we were not spies. The cry of the watchmen at La Paz was "Ave Maria purissima! las diez (10)? hon dado! viva Bolivia! y sereno! (or nublado)."

Mr. C—— told me that he had just received an order for cocoa from France for the Imperial breakfast-table.

The thermometer both at Oruro and La Paz (in March) ranged from 55° to 58° in my room at mid-day. At La Paz I was told it was rarely higher than 65° in the shade, or lower than 3° or 4° degrees below freezing point. Water boiled there at 188°, giving an approximate height of 12,400 (?) feet, about 1,000 feet lower than Oruro. The rainy season ceases about the end of March.

Visited the museum; remarked nothing in particular excepting a very badly stuffed specimen of an animal called barrache, brought by the

Digitized by Google

Indians from the forests. It was new to me, and I have never seen or heard of another. It looked like a large and very long-haired red fox; it might be the jackal of the country. Numerous unknown animals and plants may yet be discovered in the vast unexplored forests of the valley of the Amazons. A company of players arrived, and I saw them act before the President and his staff and a very thin house.

La Paz is a large town, covering with its suburbs a great space of ground. The torrent of the Beni is spanned by several small bridges. It contains about 50,000 inhabitants. Some of the houses there have carved gateways, and the fronts of other edifices date from the first building by the Spaniards. In all old houses there is, as already remarked, a hiding-place for treasure. My attention was called to one with gilt grating in a street running up from the plaza, as belonging to the family of the Indaburus; the late bishop of that name having been a lineal descendant of the comrade of Pizarro, who became possessor by lot of the golden sun in the temple of Cusco.

On the 19th of March a procession to the cathedral in honour of San José. On Easter Sunday another still grander; the President and ministers, &c., walking in full uniform. The Indians say they may do as they like for two days, whilst Christ is in the grave.

Digitized by Google

There are two convents de la Merced, besides one of San Franciscans, and another of Grey Friars (*Recoletas*), established by Clement VII., 1530, who follow the institutions of San Francisco with peculiar strictness. I was introduced into one of them, and was taken to supper in the refectory. There was no lack of conversation, but nothing to eat excepting grapes and boiled beans, so did not care to go there again.

On one occasion I was present in the cathedral at La Paz when the archbishop was consecrating the sacred oil. A very venerable man of extreme age, and wearing the golden robe, sat on the chair with a double row of priests extended from and in front of him, where was a table on which were two large vases of oil. Each of them in turn left his place and bowed to the vases, with his hands clasped as in prayer, chanted out the words "Ave sanctum oleum!" and then retired back to his place. The variety of voice was almost comic; the priests themselves could hardly abstain from laughing when a treble was succeeded by a deep bass, and *vice versâ*. A metropolitan and three bishops watch over the spiritual welfare of the Bolivians.

In the armorial bearings of the State are figured the Illimanni and the Sorata mountains, with the sun rising between them: the motto is "25 Mayo, 1809, Independencia Libertad, 6 Agosto, 1825," on which day the independence of

Digitized by Google

the country (previously known as Alto Peru) was proclaimed as the Republic of Bolivia, and so named, I need not say, in honour of the Liberador.*

* The chances of repudiation are not the only *specialité* of a Democratic Government. In 1830 Bolivia and Peru quarrelled, the former having altered the alloy in her silver from $\frac{1}{12}$ to 83 per cent., upon which Peru put a duty of 40 per cent. upon all produce imported from Bolivia, so that there was little intercourse until 1855, when it was reopened. The coin had been struck in the United States, and the additional alloy was added to balance the expense.

Bolivia is divided again into departments, each governed by a prefect, with sub-divisions into cantones, in each of which there is a corregidor. The lowest tribunal is that of a Juez de Pais; above him is a Juez de Letras; thence an appeal to the Corte Superior, composed of three judges and a fiscale, in criminal cases; also further appeal to the Corte Superior at Chuquesaca, where five out of seven judges must agree, &c. It decides any complaint made by a prefect against public officers, &c., and the President himself could be called before it.

The pay of a foot soldier is two reals a day, but he finds his own subsistence. The cavalry get some further allowance: a cabo or corporal 12 dollars a month, a sergeant 15, lieutenant 50, captain 80, major 110, commandant 125, lieutenant-colonel 150, colonel 220, a general of division 5,000 a year. The salary of the President is 30,000 dollars a year. The annual revenue amounts to about 2,000,000 dollars; duties on European goods bring in from 400,000 to 500,000 dollars. The cacao and coffee are both of very superior quality, and bring in a large proportion of it. Coca is also grown in large quantities, and the duty on it amounts to 250,000 dollars, and more than that of any other province. These are chiefly grown in the valleys on the other side of the cultivated ranges against which La Paz is situated, and which are usually known as Las Yungas, lying between it and the snowy range. The

Digitized by Google

The scenery at Tomosa, not far from the foot of the Illimanni, is described as being very beautiful, and the country rich and productive; maize, fruits, and flowers of different climates. In the mountains there are large brown bears, and a black species in the Tierra Templada; red and grey species of deer; also a yapa, described as a gazela or antelope (?). Told of an animal by the stream sides called sahor; perhaps an otter. The jabali, or wild boar (peccary ?) is common in the low forests of the plains: if one be shot, they retire for a moment, and then charge; and the attack is repeated by the last survivor of the herd. The biscacho of the country, having a large tail, differs from that of the plains of the Argentine Republic. Pavas del monte (penelope) are also found there. Some one told me that a rattlesnake was very good eating for a hungry man, and that he once had tasted it, and asked for more.

At La Paz I saw what to all appearance was a most elaborately compiled map of Bolivia, by an

best coffee in Bolivia comes from Apollobamba, at the north-east corner of the department of La Paz, and on the eastern side of the great lake. Most of the larger estates have Indians belonging to them, who are detained by being forced to work out money advanced them on the tribute tax, and somehow or other they are sure to be always in debt to the estate. Every Indian not attached to an estate has to pay six dollars in the course of the year as tribute money, and its amount forms a large item in the revenue.

Digitized by Google

officer named Ondorza; the course of the Beni, the Madeira, and the other great streams, with their affluents, were laid down with extraordinary care, but the existing Government had refused to purchase it. I tried hard to get it sent to be copied and engraved, making all sorts of liberal promises, but, though they were attentively listened to, without success.

END OF VOL. I.

COX AND WYMAN, PRINTERS, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

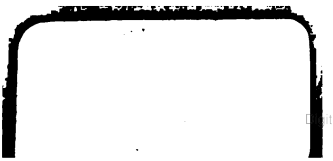
Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

OCT 3 0 1931



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google